

# ON THE QUESTION OF KOREA

SPEECHES OF REPRESENTATIVES  
AT THE 29TH SESSION OF THE  
U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung put forward a wise policy for expediting the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea and bringing about a reasonable solution to the Korean question. This policy now enjoys unanimous support from the peace-loving people of the world.

The draft resolution "On Withdrawal of All Foreign Troops Stationed in South Korea under the Flag of the United Nations", jointly proposed by 40 socialist and third world countries, was put on the agenda for discussion at the 29th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

This was a very fair draft resolution which reflected the will and desire of the entire Korean people and the peace-loving people throughout the world. Therefore, it was positively supported by many countries.

The whole course of the debate on the Korean question at the 29th session of the U.N. General Assembly showed that the Korean people and the forces that support their righteous cause won a political and moral victory.

At the session many delegates pointed out that the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops is the fundamental obstacle to the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, and they demanded in unison their immediate withdrawal from south Korea.

This book contains some of the delegates' speeches on the Korean question made at the Political Committee meetings of the 29th session of the U.N. General Assembly (Reprinted from the provisional verbatim record).



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## LI JONG MOK

**Democratic People's Republic  
of Korea**

*Speech Made on November 25*

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is participating, for the second time, in the discussion of the question of Korea

in the United Nations at the invitation of the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly.

First of all, allow me to express my deep thanks to you, Mr. Chairman and representatives of various countries, for your positive co-operation to enable the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in this session, and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the United Nations General Assembly and other United Nations officials concerned, who have facilitated our work and activities.

I also express my thanks to the representatives of various countries who have expressed support for our people's cause of national reunification during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly.

It is at this place that the question of Korea was discussed last year in the presence of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the first time in United Nations history and a decision was adopted to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, expressing the hope that the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea would be accelerated in accordance with the principles of the 4 July North-South Joint Statement.

That positive measure removed one of the obstacles to the reunification of Korea. But the question of withdrawing all foreign troops from South Korea — the main obstacle to the reunification of Korea — still remains unsolved. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea is a prerequisite for the termination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of

our country and for the peaceful solution of the question of Korean reunification, and is one of the most urgent questions for securing a durable peace in Asia.

The socialist countries, Asian and African countries — 38 in all — have submitted to the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly an agenda item and a draft resolution on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. We fully support that as a just draft resolution which reflects the will and desire of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world and, at the same time, we express our profound thanks to the 38 sponsors of that agenda item and draft resolution.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea deems it high time that the United Nations withdrew the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

The United States has been occupying half of our land for nearly 30 years.

The Korean people cannot indefinitely tolerate the continuation of this tragic reality in which the sovereignty and dignity of the nation is trampled underfoot with half of their country occupied.

Our nation remains divided, still failing in reunification, owing to the continued occupation of South Korea by the United States troops, carrying the United Nations flag with them.

Because of the United States troops' occupation of South Korea, tension has not been removed in Korea and peace is constantly menaced in the Far East and Asia.

United States troops have killed a great number of our people in cold blood and reduced the whole country to ashes in the Korean war, and they have kept Korea divided for 30 years, imposing immeasurable national misfortunes and sufferings on our people. But the United States has again submitted to this session a draft resolution against the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea.

The joint draft resolution of 27 countries initiated by the United States is aimed at obstructing by all means the discussion of the question of the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from South Korea at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, with a view to realizing the permanent occupation of South Korea by United States troops against the unanimous will of the entire Korean people and all the peace-loving peoples of the world, who demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.



I once again appeal to those attending this session who have a national conscience and who treasure justice and peace resolutely to oppose this attempt of the United States and join us in the efforts for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

The insistence of the United States on keeping its troops in South Korea is aimed at aggression and maintaining its neo-colonial domination over South Korea. It cannot be interpreted otherwise.

Today the United States keeps more than 38,000 troops in South Korea, according to its own official announcement, who are equipped with up-to-date weapons including atomic weapons and guided missiles.

The United States, loudly talking about its "peace policy" and international détente claims that it solves problems with many countries in a peaceful way. If so, why does it insist on maintaining its military bases and huge armed forces in South Korea? If the United States truly wants peace and has no intention of reinvading the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, why does it need its military bases and armed forces in South Korea?

That the insistence of the United States on the indefinite presence of its troops in South Korea is aimed at aggression and colonial domination is clearly substantiated, first of all, by the fact that it has been preparing for a war instead of securing peace, aggravating tension instead of easing it and undermining the dialogue between the North and the South of Korea instead of working for its success.

As fully established once more by the former Captain La Rocque of the United States Seventh Fleet in his recent testimony before the United States Congress Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, the United States has not only brought in and stockpiled in South Korea nuclear warheads and weapons capable of launching them, but has also deployed atomic weapons up to the forward area along the Demilitarized Zone, and has staged test-firing provocative exercises on many occasions.

Last July, even the ground reserve forces of the United States army based in Hawaii were "swiftly airlifted" to South Korea to stage war exercises in preparation to meet a real war.

The United States, together with the bellicose elements of South Korea, has ceaselessly conducted all sorts of war exercises, including combat training and "civil anti-air-raid drills", and has committed frequent military provocations against the northern half of the Republic.

The United States side committed more than 17,000 violations of the Armistice Agreement against our side along the Military Demarcation Line from January to October this year.

Can you believe that all this is really intended for defending peace and easing tension?

The United States intention to continue to keep its troops in South Korea is not for peace but solely for aggression; that is clearly shown by the fact that it still does not even give any answer to our proposal on concluding a peace agreement to remove the state of confrontation between the North and the South and to achieve a durable peace in our country. Why does the United States turn its face away from our proposal for replacing the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement?

It is said, as all representatives are aware, that the present era is an era advancing towards peace. Then why does the United States doggedly oppose our demand that a peace agreement be concluded, that all foreign troops pull out of South Korea, and that the Korean people be left to solve the question of Korean reunification by themselves, and why does it only insist that its troops should remain in South Korea? What is this, if it is not a design for aggression?

The fact that the United States has only an aggressive aim in Korea can also be clearly seen in its stand on the dialogue between the North and the South.

When the dialogue was under way between the North and the South, the United States stirred up an atmosphere of war, not an atmosphere of peace; it continued to provide the South Korean authorities with weapons, and to egg them on to confrontation instead of dialogue, saying that South Korea should get the upper hand in strength. Is this helpful to the dialogue? Is it not an act of fishing in troubled waters to set the South Korean bellicose elements to fight their fellow Koreans?

The twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly expressed the hope that the question of our country's reunification would be solved peacefully through dialogue between the North and the South; but the United States perpetrates such acts as these in contrast to the lip service it pays in support of the dialogue. That is an open expression of its stereotyped, double-dealing tactics.

It is precisely because of such acts of aggression and intervention by the United States that the South Korean authorities betray in their deeds the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity agreed in the North-South Joint Statement. They resort to double-faced tactics and,

while ostensibly giving lip service in favour of reunification, divide our country in their reliance on outside forces, step up war preparations against us, and completely rupture the dialogue.

The persistence of the United States in maintaining its troops in South Korea is, in the long run, no more than the revelation of its desire to take a firmer hold on South Korea as its most important stronghold for Asian aggression, in view of the fact that it is now being driven out of many places in Asia.

Their design is to take over one half of the Korean territory for ever, and launch another aggressive war against our Republic in league with the South Korean reactionaries.

The United States is using the so-called "threat of southward aggression" as a pretext to justify its policy of aggression and war against Korea. But that is ridiculous logic. At present, South Korea has a regular army 700,000 strong, and "a homeland reserve army" of 2.5 million, which, when put together, constitute a huge armed force 3.2 million strong.

In recent years the United States has poured into South Korea a fabulous sum of military aid amounting to \$ 1,500 million for "modernization of the ROK army".

South Korea has more armed forces than we do; its population is double that of ours. That being the case, who is threatened: we, or South Korea? That is clear even to a three-year-old child. What constitutes the actual danger in Korea today is not the "threat of southward aggression" from the North but the threat of northward aggression from the South. There is no need for further argument about that.

Recently, the South Korean authorities have invented all kinds of heinous plots, frequently to give support in every way to their made-up story of the fictitious "threat of southward aggression".

After committing a grave military provocation by firing hundreds of rounds of shells and bullets into our side in the demilitarized zone on the western sector of the front some time ago, they rigged up the case of an "underground tunnel", allegedly built by our side, only to kick up a frenzied racket against our Republic.

However, the South Korean authorities' habitual fraud and deceit in successively staging preposterous, tricky farces — all intended to shift the responsibility on to us — are so widely known to the world that they can deceive no one.

Both Bennett and Michaels, former commanders-in-chief of the United Nations forces, testified that South Korea was "superior to North Korea" in the "size of armed forces" and

that South Korea "can deter the war capacity of North Korea".

Though South Korea has a larger army and a bigger population than we do, they say that the United States troops cannot pull out of South Korea because of the "threat of southward aggression". That is, indeed, the act of a thief who turns on the master with a club.

Moreover, the Government of our Republic has stated on every occasion that it has no intention of solving the question of the country's reunification by means of war.

That is why unbiased world public opinion is now unanimous in exposing the fact that the so-called "threat of southward aggression" clamoured about by the United States is "an unrealistic and unconvincing pretext". It is precisely with a view to achieving its aggressive aim of reducing South Korea to the status of a permanent colony and military base that the United States maintains and zealously supports the repressive fascist system in South Korea.

That is proved by the statement of the United States Secretary of State before the United States House Appropriations Committee on 24 July last when he said that despite the violations of human rights and the repressive policy in South Korea, the United States Government had

"...decided to continue economic and military aid to South Korea for security in Asia".

What does the United States mean by "security in Asia"? That is balderdash, showing the intention of the United States to play the role of world policeman. It only reveals the outdated, imperialistic and wild ambition of aggression of the United States, which wants to send its troops anywhere at will to commit aggression. It has been proved more glaringly by Mr. Ford, who went to South Korea a few days ago after having been sworn in as the new President of the United States, only to express open support for the South Korean authorities in the preparations for war, by declaring that the United States "had no plan" to withdraw its troops from South Korea; that the American troops and the South Korean forces must "maintain a high degree of strength and readiness"; that the United States would render "prompt and effective assistance" to South Korea in case a war broke out, accelerate the "modernization programme for the ROK army" and "render support" to the further development of war industries of South Korea; and so on.

Mr. Ford's trip to South Korea was, indeed, a trip for war expansion and aggression, which unreservedly revealed his true colours as a warmonger who gives off the smell of gun-powder,

and the unchanged ambition of the United States for aggression.

"Mister" Ford went to see "Mister" Pak Jung Hi to take him protectively under his wing at a time when the youth, students and patriotic people of all strata in South Korea were waging a fierce, massive anti-government struggle under the slogans of "Pak Jung Hi, resign!" and "Away with the dictatorial régime!" This is an intolerable insult to the South Korean people and a challenge to the entire Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The South Korean people have again embarked courageously on the road of struggle, unable to live any longer under the fascist suppression of the South Korean authorities.

Patriotic young people, students, and people all across South Korea, including the students of all universities and colleges in Seoul, have been waging a fierce anti-government struggle again for more than two months since last September.

Those who are fighting in South Korea in demand of the right to existence, freedom, democracy and the reunification of the country include not only the young people and students but also the workers who languish in their extreme deprivation of rights and hardships of life, the religious believers who are deprived of their freedom of religion, the journalists whose freedom of speech is suppressed, and the conscientious democratic figures in opposition.

This patently shows that if United States troops had not protected the present South Korean authorities with their bayonets, the South Korean people would have already overthrown the fascist rule and achieved a democratic society long ago and, accordingly, much progress would have been made in the cause of accelerating the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Is it not an act of aggression and interference in another's internal affairs that the United States protects and encourages the anti-popular, fascist dictatorial régime at the point of the bayonet in total violation of the will of the Korean people? What is worse is that the United States is now bringing into South Korea all the weapons and armed forces which it has been forced to remove from other parts of Asia.

The United States has introduced into South Korea up-to-date heavy weapons and military equipment evacuated from South Vietnam, moved its tactical air force into South Korea from Japan, and brought into South Korea the fighter-bomber units withdrawn from Thailand.

The United States seems to think that it can do anything it likes in South Korea, although it is compelled to get out of

other parts of Asia. This is to hold our Korean nation in the worst contempt, which stirs our national indignation.

While engaging in all acts of aggression and war in Korea in this way, the United States claims before the people of the world that it respects sovereignty and is running from one place to another for what it calls peace. How hypocritical and deceptive it is.

The United States has occupied another country for 30 years, abusing the United Nations flag. This is enough. It is high time it got out of there. Today there is no ground or pretext whatsoever for United States troops to remain in South Korea. By origin, the occupation of South Korea by United States troops under the United Nations flag is an act of aggression in flagrant violation of publicly recognized principles of international law relating to respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in another's internal affairs.

The United States has so far used the United Nations resolution as a pretext for legalizing the occupation of South Korea by United States troops. But this United Nations resolution was unwarrantedly fabricated in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter at a time when the United States had a firm hand on the United Nations in the early 1950s before the admission of the majority of the present third world nations into the United Nations.

The presence of United States troops in South Korea still today, when more than 20 years have passed since the realization of the armistice in Korea, is a violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea after the cease-fire. It also runs completely counter to the principles of the North-South Joint Statement, which provides for reunifying the country independently without the interference of any outside forces.

Finding it more and more difficult to keep its troops in South Korea under the name of the United Nations forces, the United States has now gone the length of putting about, as its last resort, the sophistry that United States troops would not pull out of South Korea even if the United Nations General Assembly were to adopt a resolution on the withdrawal of United Nations forces, because United States troops now are not United Nations forces but forces stationed in South Korea under the ROK-US mutual defence pact.

It was at this forum of the United Nations that United States representatives in the past always maintained that United States troops stationed in South Korea could not withdraw from

there without a United Nations resolution as they were United Nations forces. But now they say that United States troops are not United Nations forces but troops stationed there under what they call the "pact" concluded with South Korea. This is to despise and flout United Nations Member States and world public opinion.

This sophism, which can convince nobody, only serves to fully reveal the brazen-faced nature of the United States. The so-called ROK-US mutual defence pact is an illegal document which the United States faked with the traitorous forces of South Korea in an attempt to justify the permanent occupation of South Korea by United States troops, in direct violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement immediately following on its signature. The Korean people do not recognize it. The United States now tries to justify its troops' occupation of South Korea by what it calls the "pact" concluded with the traitorous forces of South Korea, when it cannot justify it even in the name of the United Nations. This only helps to reveal that United States troops have no pretext whatsoever to remain in South Korea any longer.

Now it is not only an urgent requirement of the development of the situation in our country but also an irresistible demand of the times that United States troops be withdrawn from South Korea.

Ours is an era when imperialism is going to ruin and socialism and national liberation revolution are emerging victorious.

Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America which were subjected to humiliation and oppression in the past have now cast off the cursed colonial yoke and emerged on the scene of history as its master, defending their national dignity and sovereignty and energetically hewing out their destiny for themselves under the uplifted banner of independence.

Today, no nation, except a handful of traitorous forces such as the South Korean rulers, wants to live shackled to others or to allow others to trample underfoot its national dignity.

The Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States, held in Algeria last year, in which the Heads of State or Government from over 80 countries of the world participated, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the termination of all forms of interference in the internal affairs of Korea by outside forces.

Also, during the general debate at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly the representatives of

many countries held that the foreign troops must get out of South Korea and that the Korean question be left to the Korean people themselves so that they might solve it independently; no one said that foreign troops should keep on occupying South Korea. This is the very reflection of the trend of present times, and this current will flow with increasing force as the days go by.

We consider it necessary, first of all, to take an immediate measure to ease tension in the land of Korea if world peace is to be maintained at present in conformity with the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

In order to ease tension and ensure a durable peace in Korea, the United States troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag must be withdrawn and the Korean question left to the Korean people themselves.

If it should be decided to withdraw United States troops from South Korea we will be ready to negotiate with the United States at any time on the problems that may arise in connexion with the withdrawal.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea already made a proposal last March on concluding a peace agreement between our Republic and the United States containing the following provisions:

First, both sides shall pledge to each other not to invade the other side and shall remove all dangers of direct armed conflict.

The United States shall be obliged not to instigate the South Korean authorities to war provocation manoeuvres and fascist repression of the South Korean people, or to patronize them; not to obstruct the North and South of Korea as they reunify the country independently and peacefully in accordance with the North-South Joint Statement; not to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Korea.

Secondly, both sides shall discontinue the reinforcement of armed forces and the arms race and stop introducing any weapons, combat equipment and war supplies from beyond the boundary of Korea.

Thirdly, the helmets of the "United Nations Forces" shall be stripped from the foreign troops stationed in South Korea, and they shall all be withdrawn, along with all their weapons, at the earliest possible date.

Fourthly, Korea shall not be reduced to a military or operational base for any foreign country after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

A peace agreement, if it is concluded, between the Demo-



cratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America will put an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of our country and will pave the way to a peaceful solution of the question of Korean reunification by the Koreans themselves. It will also make a great contribution to preserving peace and security in Asia.

The questions of converting the armistice into a durable peace and of realizing the peaceful reunification of our country after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea are internal affairs of the Korean people that must be solved between the authorities of the North and South through negotiations, and no third party should meddle.

At the enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland held some time ago, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made clear the stand of the Government of our Republic that the problems that may arise after the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea may be discussed and settled through bilateral military talks between the military authorities of the North and South.

We believe that at these military talks we can discuss and settle such questions as guaranteeing between the North and South that force shall not be used by one side against the other, in conformity with the principles of the Joint Statement; arranging new military measures, including those for removing the state of military confrontation between the North and South and binding the North and South under an obligation to implement the main provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement in order to prevent the outbreak of armed conflicts between them after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea; forming a North-South Joint Military Commission to replace the present Military Armistice Commission; and reducing the numerical strength of the armed forces of the North and South to 100,000 or less each, and discontinuing the arms race and the introduction of weapons from abroad, and so forth, with a view to easing tension in Korea.

If any other organ is needed, apart from the North-South Joint Military Commission, to help preserve peace in Korea, the present Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission could be maintained, with any new necessary functions, pending the conclusion of a peace agreement between the North and the South.

A firm guarantee will be provided for the preservation of peace in our country if the North and the South convene bilateral military talks to discuss and solve the above-mentioned questions,

and form a North-South Joint Military Commission to implement a mutual agreement to be made between the two sides, on the condition that all the foreign troops are withdrawn from South Korea.

We never want to fight our fellow countrymen; we are striving to convert the armistice into a durable peace in our country, and to solve the question of national reunification by peaceful means, and not in any circumstances by means of force.

Our people have lived in harmony for thousands of years in the same territory, and they have the full ability to hew out their destiny by their own efforts.

If the United States troops are withdrawn from South Korea and the United States interference in the internal affairs of our country is terminated for good, the people in the North and the South of Korea can themselves find excellent ways and means for reunifying their fatherland on the basis of the North-South Joint Statement, and attaining prosperity in their reunified country.

We have already put forward a large number of most reasonable proposals for solving the question of reunification.

The five-point proposal on national reunification of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, presented by the respected and beloved Leader of our people Comrade Kim Il Sung, Head of State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on 23 June last year is a patriotic national-salvation programme which illumines the prospect of reunification.

The main essence of the five-point proposal on national reunification is to remove the state of military confrontation and ease tension between the North and the South, to realize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the North and the South, to convene a Great National Congress composed of the representatives of people of all walks of life and all political parties and social organizations in the North and the South, to institute a North-South Confederation under the single national title of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, and to enter the United Nations under the single national title. This proposal opened up the right way for us to solving the question of reunification in conformity with the will and national interests of the entire Korean people.

The most important way of solving the question of Korean reunification through the negotiations between the North and the South is to convene a Great National Congress and a political consultative conference with the participation of the represent-

atives of all political parties and social organizations and personages of all walks of life in the North and the South.

At the Great National Congress or the political consultative conference, we may discuss the measures for realizing collaboration and interchange between the North and the South in various fields, and deciding on the institutional framework of the Confederation, as well as the question of jointly entering the international arena to defend the interests of the whole nation.

It is our belief that the North and the South may deepen mutual understanding and trust through this course, and may institute a Confederation under the single national title, the Confederal Republic of Koryo. Under this Confederation the two sides will implement the policies discussed at the Great National Congress while retaining the present political systems of North and South Korea as they are for the time being.

If we do not impose our system on the South Korean side, and they do not impose their system on us, both sides can realize the great unity of the nation, transcending the differences of political views and religious beliefs, even though the two political systems existing in the North and the South are left intact as they are. In that case there will be neither arms drive nor war, and a strong basis will be built for realizing the complete reunification of the fatherland.

By this course, we shall be able to realize the complete reunification and independence of our country through the setting up of a unified central government through north-south general elections to be held on democratic principles.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea sincerely hopes that the United Nations General Assembly this year will be marked as a historic session which will make a substantial contribution to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea by adopting a just decision for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the banner of the "United Nations forces", in conformity with the common aspirations of the Korean people and the peoples of the world, and the requirement of the times.

If a resolution is adopted on withdrawing all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag, it will not only mark an epochal turning point in the struggle of the Korean people for national reunification, but also record a new chapter in the history of the United Nations, and make a great contribution to peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

We once again appeal to the representatives from various friendly countries present at this session, and to the Govern-

ments and peoples of all countries of the world to make positive endeavours so that the United Nations may take appropriate measures to enable the Korean people to achieve the reunification of Korea on the principle of national self-determination.

We have still many difficulties before us, but we are now looking forward to the prospect of reunification with confidence. No one can weaken the strong will of our people to reunify their country by their own efforts, nor can any divisive elements check the forward movement of our nation towards the great national unity and peaceful reunification of the country.

The struggle of the Korean people for national reunification is a link in the whole chain of the struggle of the peoples of the whole world against imperialism, old and new colonialism, and racism, and for the termination of all forms of interference and defence of national independence and world peace.

With the active support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples of the world, the Korean people will, sooner or later, eliminate the misfortunes of national division and will certainly build on the territory of their fatherland a rich and powerful, prosperous and sovereign, independent and unified State where the entire people in the North and the South will be able to enjoy happiness together.

#### *Speech Made on December 4*

First of all, I wish to express my profound thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, for providing us with another opportunity to take the floor.

In our statement on 25 November, we demanded that the United Nations take appropriate measures to withdraw the foreign troops occupying south Korea under the flag of the United Nations, who have imposed on the Korean people the sufferings of national division for a quarter of a century, in order to enable the Korean people to solve the Korean question by themselves.

Our demand reflects the unanimous will and desire of the entire Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world. It is also in full accord with the trend of the present times advancing towards independence and fully conforms to the ideals of peace as well as to the principles of the United Nations Charter, which is based on respect for equality and self-determination.

Therefore the representatives of various countries that treasure peace and justice have expressed active support for our just position to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of the country after the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea.

However, the representatives of the United States and some other countries and the "representative" of South Korea have schemed to maintain the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops, going against the current of the times. The representative of the United States insisted that the United States troops should remain in South Korea to preserve "peace" in Korea, saying that the presence of the United States troops in South Korea is the "sole basis ... of peace in Korea". What a hypocritical argument it is.

There can be found no instance in history of an aggressor who calls himself an aggressor when he invades other countries. All aggressors without exception have invaded other countries under the sign of "peace" and occupied other countries for domination under the name of "protection".

Such an aggressive logic could work in the international arena only in the past when the imperialists could handle the fate of small nations at will; but today, when hundreds of millions of people who were subjected to oppression and humiliation in the past have emerged on the scene of history as its masters, that sort of outdated sophistry can go down with no one.

The representative of the United States, reversing black and white as if we had provoked the war in 1950 to "invade" South Korea, clamoured that the United States troops were dispatched to South Korea to check "aggression" in defence of "peace".

But it is a stern historical fact which cannot be concealed by anything that the United States instigated the bellicose elements of South Korea into launching an aggressive war according to its premeditated plan and committed overt armed intervention under the name of the United Nations in an attempt to destroy the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its cradle.

According to the logic of the United States representative, it was an act of "defence" on the part of the United States to dispatch tens of thousands of its troops to invade another's territory, whereas it was an act of an "aggressor" on our part to fight to repel the aggressive forces of a foreign country from our territory. What a gangster-like logic it is.

As for the United Nations Security Council "resolution" of 1950 which the representative of the United States mentioned

in his statement, it was a "resolution" forged by the United States to camouflage, under the name of the United Nations, the aggressive war it had provoked with the design of dominating the whole of Korea and all the other consequent acts of aggression it committed in Korea.

Since the unwarrantedness of the "resolution" of the United Nations Security Council on sending the "United Nations forces" to south Korea has already been demonstrated by the representatives of many countries, I will not repeat it.

Is it really for the defence of peace that the United States troops remain in South Korea, as alleged by the representative of the United States? During the Korean war, the former commander of the United States Eighth Army issued an order: "Kill all who appear before you. Your hands should not tremble even if those appearing before you are children or old men. You ought to fulfil your duties as American citizens by killing more Koreans". The barbarous atrocities of massacre committed by the United States troops during the Korean war under the flag of the United Nations have been well exposed before the world.

The United States soldiers who are accustomed to vile racial discrimination are engrossed even today in all sorts of barbarous atrocities, such as killing the South Korean people for fun, shooting them to death as targets in firing training, assaulting the pedestrians, setting military dogs on them, raping and insulting women, raiding civilian houses to plunder the property of the inhabitants and so forth.

There remains a constant danger of war in Korea, that is far from being removed and that is also due to the United States troops who, occupying the half of our country, continue manoeuvres for aggression and war against the Korean people. Those are the true colours of the United States troops whom the United States representative tried to describe as apostles of peace.

The United States again insisted in this Committee that the "question of the future" of the "United Nations Command" must be referred to the Security Council for consideration. The real intention of this argument is, in fact, to prevent the current session of the United Nations General Assembly from taking measures for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

In the past, the United States presented to the United Nations General Assembly proposals on maintaining the United States troops in South Korea under the name of the United Nations; and the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted

annually its "resolutions" on keeping the "United Nations forces" in South Korea.

Since the General Assembly of the United Nations has so far been discussing and deciding on the continued presence of the "United Nations forces" in South Korea, it is natural that the question of dissolving those forces must also be discussed and decided in the General Assembly.

Such being the case, why does the United States stubbornly attempt to bring this question before the Security Council? The motive is very clear. The real intention of the United States is to check, by all means, the demand of the Korean people and the peoples of the world for the withdrawal of the "United Nations forces" by wielding its veto power.

The representative of the United States tried to convince this Committee that the United States troops in South Korea were not the "United Nations forces" but the troops stationed there under the "ROK-United States mutual defence pact".

I believe that the representatives present here may recall vividly previous arguments of the representatives of the United States who insisted in this forum of the United Nations that the United States troops could not withdraw from South Korea unless the United Nations adopted a resolution, because, they said, those forces were the "United Nations forces".

The United States insisted that its troops were the "United Nations forces" at one time when it thought it was advantageous to use the name of the United Nations for justifying the occupation of South Korea by its troops; but it argues that its troops are not the "United Nations forces" today when it finds it disadvantageous for its troops to put on the helmets of the "United Nations forces". This is a habitual method the United States used to employ.

It is an undeniable historic fact that the United States troops came to South Korea under the name of the "United Nations forces" before the conclusion of the "ROK-United States mutual defence pact".

On no pretext whatsoever can the United States justify the occupation of South Korea by the United States troops.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already put forward a concrete and clear-cut proposal for the subsequent settlement of the Armistice Agreement that may arise in connexion with the withdrawal of the "United Nations forces" from South Korea. However, the representatives of the United States and some other countries continue to talk about some sort of guarantee.

Our proposal that the questions arising in connexion with the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea be solved by way of concluding a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States and that the questions arising with regard to the implementation of the Korean Armistice Agreement and the preservation of a durable peace in Korea after the withdrawal of the United States troops be solved through the North-South Joint Military Commission to be formed between the north and the south provides a solid guarantee.

What other guarantee is necessary?

If the Government of the United States has no other intention, why does it continuously talk about a sort of guarantee while keeping aloof from our clear-cut and concrete proposal?

If the United States sincerely wants peace, it should not waste time with empty talk but accept our proposal on concluding a peace agreement for converting the armistice into a lasting peace in Korea.

If the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States conclude a peace agreement and all the United States troops withdraw from South Korea thereafter, the military authorities of the north and the south will hold bilateral military talks to take measures for removing the military confrontation between the north and the south and, further, for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

The representative of France put forward before this Committee an amendment on dissolving only the "United Nations Command", while leaving the United States troops in South Korea. This is, in essence, to enable the United States troops to continuously occupy South Korea. Therefore, we categorically oppose his proposal.

Should the "United Nations Command" be dissolved, all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the name of the "United Nations forces" must also be withdrawn.

If the United States troops remain in South Korea, the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" will not make any difference in substance, for the danger of war will persist; the interference of the foreign troops in our internal affairs will continue and our nation will still remain divided.

The question of dissolving the "United Nations Command" and the question of withdrawing the United States troops bearing the flag of the United Nations are one and the same question, which cannot be separated.



It is also because of the presence of United States troops in South Korea, which instigate the South Korean authorities into confrontation, that no progress has so far been made to this day in the dialogue, despite the fact that at the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly, all the Member States of this Organization supported the North-South Joint Statement and expressed their hope that the reunification of Korea would be realized on the basis of that Statement.

In this Committee, the representative of the United States said that the United States fully supports the North-South Joint Statement and the resolution of the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly that supported the Joint Statement.

If so, let me ask him a question. Since the North-South Joint Statement provides that the reunification of our country shall be achieved independently without interference from any outside forces, why does the United States doggedly refuse to withdraw its troops from South Korea, only saying in words that it supports the North-South Joint Statement?

The representative of the United States tried to blame us for our statement that we cannot compromise with the splitters or join hands with the traitors to our nation.

To compromise with the splitters means that we take the same boat with those who divide the nation. We can never do that. We demand reunification and reject division. That being so, we oppose any attempt to divide our country permanently.

It is quite natural for us to state that we cannot join hands with the traitors to our nation.

How can we, the patriots, join hands with the traitors to our nation who are selling off our country, clinging to the sleeves of the outside forces?

The United States should be aware that it can never impose on us the road of division and treason which it has imposed on the South Korean authorities.

The representative of the United States has brought up again the proposal on the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" in the United Nations that it suggested to the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly last year, but that proposal only met with the denunciation of the representatives of many countries, before it became a totally rejected and bankrupt idea.

The proposal on the simultaneous admission of "two Koreas" into the United Nations is aimed at dividing the North and the South of Korea into two States permanently.

Here, again, one can see how persistent the United States is in its manoeuvres to divide Korea permanently.

It is an urgent problem the solution of which brooks no further delay, to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

The United States is resorting to every conceivable machination to refuse the withdrawal of its aggressive troops occupying South Korea; but it is a futile attempt.

Today, it is the unanimous will of the entire Korean people and a demand of the peace-loving peoples of the world that the United States troops, carrying the flag of the United Nations with them, be withdrawn from South Korea.

We sincerely hope that the current session of the United Nations General Assembly will take fair measures to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the sign of the United Nations, thereby to contribute to the acceleration of the Korean people's cause for national reunification.

We appeal once again to the representatives of various countries who love peace and justice to express active support for our just efforts for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from South Korea, for termination of the interference of outside forces in the internal affairs of Korea, and for attainment of the independent and peaceful reunification of our fatherland.

### *Speech Made on December 9*

The First Committee of the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly has just passed an unwarranted decision which runs counter to the desire of the entire Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. That decision is, in fact, aimed at continuously keeping the United States troops in South Korea under the sign of the United Nations forces.

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea resolutely opposes and rejects this unwarranted decision. The United States has employed every conceivable trick to prevent the United Nations General Assembly at its current session from adopting a just decision on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Owing to the obstructive machinations of the United States and its followers, the First Committee of the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly

has failed to solve the question that is the subject of the item jointly submitted by 40 countries for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

In this Committee the representatives of many countries strongly demanded the withdrawal of United States troops which, occupying South Korea, impose on the Korean people the sufferings of national division, and asked that the Korean question be left to the Korean people themselves. That notwithstanding, the United States has persistently plotted to have its unwarranted draft resolution, which pursues the aim of permanent occupation of South Korea by "United Nations troops" adopted in disregard of the will of many countries. This has only revealed more clearly its aggressive nature.

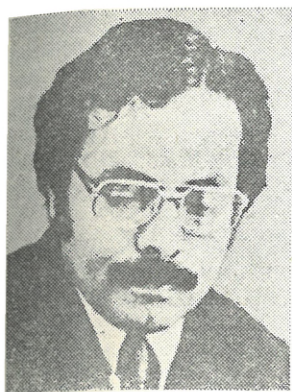
In his statement a few minutes ago, the South Korean representative claimed vociferously that the adoption of the draft resolution initiated by the United States was their success, but his conduct is no more than another revelation of the traitorous acts of the present South Korean authorities which are trying to perpetuate the division of the country by clinging to outside forces. A stern punishment will certainly be meted out to the South Korean authorities by the people for their treason and betrayal.

The whole course of the discussion on the question of Korea has clearly demonstrated that the ranks of the countries which support the just struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and for the attainment of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country have been expanded and strengthened beyond comparison and that the United States will soon meet its fate when it will have no alternative but to withdraw its troops from South Korea in the face of these ever-growing forces.

As is seen from the result of the vote on the draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, the discussion of the question of Korea in this Committee has proved to be a political victory for us. Those countries which have supported and sympathized with us are all newly-emerging forces which represent the future and, accordingly, those forces are unlimited in strength and no force can check their dynamic forward movement. Though some of the countries have so far failed to understand our just cause for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country after the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea, they

will certainly come to understand as days go by that we are on the side of justice. The future is ours and history will prove that our struggle is entirely righteous. So long as the United States troops continue their occupation of South Korea, we will fight to the end for the withdrawal of those forces. The Korean people will certainly compel the United States troops occupying South Korea to withdraw from there and will achieve, without fail, the reunification and independence of the country, with the support and encouragement of the peoples of the world who love peace and justice, even though great difficulties still lie on the way to the reunification of the country.

Before concluding my statement, I wish to express, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my profound thanks to the representatives of all the countries which have expressed support and sympathy for the struggle of our people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland.



## AHMED AL HADDAD

### Yemen

The international community, which has for so long been seized of the question of Korea and the United Nations ill-conceived involvement in Korean affairs, received with satisfaction the joint communiqué issued by North and South Korea on 4 July 1972, precisely because the communiqué provided for the following principles on the reunification of Korea: first, that reunification should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside force or interference; secondly, that the reunification should be realized by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; thirdly, that the reunification should be realized by promoting great national unity as one nation transcending the differences of ideology, ideas and systems.

These three principles of national reunification constitute the basis on which both North and South Korea should seek a settlement and the reunification of their homeland. The United Nations role is to assist in this direction.

Last year we noted that our Organization took an encouraging step to rectify its position by promoting these principles. In this connexion, the delegation of Yemen would like to recall the consensus adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, under the terms of which the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was dissolved.

We believe that the dissolution of the United Nations Commission was a significant decision since it helps to extract the United Nations ill-conceived involvement in Korean affairs. We also noted that the General Assembly further expressed the hope that by adopting the consensus, North and South Korea would continue the dialogue for us to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of the country.

The division of Korea is an artificial one which has been

maintained by force as manifested by the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. It is an undisputed fact that the division of the country at the 38th Parallel and the present demarcation line fixed by the Armistice Agreement of July 1953, was not intended to be definitive borders constituting a frontier between two countries, but, rather, a temporary military line pending a political settlement through negotiations which would involve the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Unfortunately, due to outside intervention, the political conference was never held and the division of the country continued to be a military reality which manifested itself in the presence of foreign forces.

As outlined in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677, our call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations is both legitimate and timely. In our opinion, the existence of foreign troops on South Korea's soil is a source of tension not only in Korea but in the Far East. We further believe that the presence of these foreign troops constitutes the main obstacle in the search for a peaceful reunification of Korea. Therefore, the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea is, in fact, an honest effort to help the Korean people achieve their aspiration in the unity and political independence of their land by peaceful means. We strongly believe that the wishes of the Korean people, in the north and in the south, must be respected.

On the other hand we oppose, as a matter of principle and policy, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea or elsewhere, because such presence can only frustrate the efforts of the Korean people and the peace-loving nations towards the settlement of the Korean question as envisaged in the Joint Communiqué of July 1972 which stresses the theme of unity without outside reliance or intervention. Our endeavour at this juncture should be concentrated on the elimination of obstacles which continue to block the road leading to the peaceful reunification of Korea. My delegation is convinced that serious efforts must be made in order to see to it that the United Nations military command in South Korea be dissolved, which must lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea. This step, in our opinion, is essential and a prerequisite to the peaceful reunification of Korea being achieved through negotiation and dialogue between North and South.

In conclusion, the United Nations has a commitment toward

the people of Korea in fulfilling their long overdue aspiration for a peaceful reunification of their homeland. We must not miss this opportunity.



## HUANG HUA

China

*Speech Made on November 29*

Mr. Chairman, first of all, allow me to express warm welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by Vice-Foreign Minister Li Jong Mok. The speech by the head of the Korean Delegation voiced the just demand of the Korean people, set forth the truth about the Korean question and pointed out the correct way to the settlement of the question. The Chinese delegation firmly supports his speech.

As is known to all, Korea forms one nation and had long been a unified country. It was only towards the end of the Second World War that Korea was artificially divided into two parts, the north and the south. Over the past 29 years, the Korean people have suffered a great deal from the division of their fatherland. It is the strong desire and common aspiration of the entire Korean people to eliminate the interference of outside forces and realize the reunification of their fatherland at an early date. All ideas and acts designed to perpetuate the division of Korea have been, and will continue to be, indignantly condemned and firmly rejected by the entire Korean people.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has waged prolonged and persistent struggles and put forward a series of positive and reasonable proposals for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. In particular, the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity put forward by President Kim Il Sung in May 1972 and the five-point proposition for the prevention of a national split and the realization of national reunification he put forth in June 1973 have pointed to the correct road for promoting the cause of Korean reunification. Thanks to the positive efforts persistently made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the north and south of Korea started their dialogue and issued the North-South Joint



Statement of 4 July 1972 affirming the aforesaid three principles. The issuance of the Joint Statement unequivocally shows that Korea is an integral whole, that the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the common desire of the entire Korean people, and that the Korean people will be able to solve the question of peaceful reunification through their own efforts provided that the interference by outside forces is terminated.

At the twenty-eighth session last year, the General Assembly adopted a "consensus" on the Korean question, affirming the three principles for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and deciding to dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". This was a positive step taken by the United Nations in support of the Korean people's efforts to eliminate outside interference in the internal affairs of Korea and to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

Another year has passed since the last session. In the past year, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made continued serious efforts to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. It was hoped that there would be further progress in the Korean situation on the existing basis. Regrettably, however, the south Korean authorities have time and again trampled on the North-South Joint Statement as well as the spirit of the "consensus" of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and rejected all the reasonable proposals and suggestions put forward in the talks by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In obstinate pursuance of the policy of creating "two Koreas", a policy of national division, they clamour for a trial of "strength" and have been carrying out military provocations in continuous exacerbation of the relations between the north and south, thus bringing the talks between the north and the south to a stalemate. Under the pretext of an alleged "threat" from the north, which is an exploded myth, the Pak Jung Hi clique has announced a series of "emergency measures", depriving the south Korean people of their elementary democratic rights and carrying out bloody repression of the people of all strata in south Korea who demand democracy and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. It has arrested, tried, imprisoned and executed a great number of people from various strata who call for democracy, freedom and independent and peaceful reunification, ranging from young students to political and religious figures. Even people like former "President" Yoon Bo Sun and

Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Soun did not escape such persecution. Today south Korea is in fact under the reign of terror of a fascist dictator.

The Pak Jung Hi clique has dared to act so perversely in its intensified repression of the people and disruption of the north-south dialogue mainly because it has obtained the support and connivance of the United States. It is a well-known fact that south Korea has all along been under the military, political and economic control of the United States. In stationing tens of thousands of troops in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations Command, in providing large quantities of military assistance to south Korea year after year and in stepping up the "modernization" of the hundreds of thousands of south Korean troops to fortify the Pak Jung Hi ruling apparatus and sustain his fascist rule, the purpose of the United States is to perpetuate and solidify the division of Korea. It is evident that the long-term stationing of United States troops in south Korea and its interference in Korea's internal affairs constitute the principal obstacle to the Korean people's realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. In order to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it is imperative to eliminate outside interference and have all United States troops withdrawn from south Korea. This is a decision which the current session should take as a follow-up of the decision adopted at the twenty-eighth session to affirm the principles of peaceful reunification of Korea and dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

Mr. Chairman, the United States troops under the United Nations flag have been stationed in south Korea for as long as a quarter of a century. It is a shame to the United Nations to allow a super-Power to use the name of the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea over a long period, and it has long become intolerable to the numerous Member States, which demand a prompt end to this absurd situation in which the United Nations Charter is being violated. The item and the related draft resolution proposed by Algeria and 37 other countries on the "withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations" not only reflect the strong desire and legitimate demand of the Korean people but are in full conformity with the North-South Joint Statement and the spirit of the "consensus" on the Korean question adopted at the twenty-eighth session. Their draft resolution is entirely correct and most reasonable. It has not only set

forth the correct principles for a solution, but has also proposed the specific and reasonable way to achieve it.

Algeria and other co-sponsors were the first to request the consideration of the item "withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations" at the current session of the General Assembly. Thereafter, the United States and others hastily proposed a separate item and a related draft resolution. The purpose of that draft is to delay a settlement of the Korean question and obstruct the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The draft resolution co-sponsored by the United States and others is allegedly aimed at the full implementation of the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question. If such is their aim, they should agree to the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea. For it is precisely this consensus that affirms the three principles for the reunification of Korea, the first of which is: the reunification of the country "should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference". One may ask: Do not the several tens of thousands of United States troops stationed in south Korea constitute outside force? Should not the interference by this outside force be eliminated? The United States argues that its troops in south Korea "have not interfered in the internal affairs of the host country". How can this argument convince anyone? Does not the presence of tens of thousands of United States troops in south Korea serve to embolden the Pak Jung Hi clique, to say the least? Evidently, such an argument is utterly untenable.

Recently the United States has openly declared that only a few hundred out of its tens of thousands of troops in south Korea belong to the "United Nations Command", while the rest are not under the "United Nations Command". Who does not know that the United States troops invaded Korea under the flag of the United Nations at the outset? Over the past two decades and more, it has never dropped that United Nations flag. And now all of a sudden it invokes the bilateral "U.S.-ROK Treaty", asserting that the tens of thousands of United States troops do not belong to the so-called "United Nations Command" and are not United Nations troops in the first place. There are two labels; but no matter how it changes the label from one to the other, its purpose remains the same, that is, to prolong its stay in Korea, continue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea and perpetuate the division of that country.

The United States alleges that its troops in south Korea are to "maintain peace and security on the Korean Peninsula". This is an even more glaring reversal of the truth. Firstly, the affairs of Korea should be managed by the Korean people themselves; the peace and security of the Korean Peninsula should be guaranteed by the north and south of Korea themselves and not by a super-Power. Secondly, the prolonged stay of United States troops to bolster the Pak Jung Hi fascist regime in violation of the provisions of the Armistice Agreement concerning the withdrawal of foreign troops has all along remained the root cause of the tension on the Korean Peninsula. Only the complete elimination of outside interference and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea will facilitate the further quest for peace and stability and the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country by the north and south of Korea on the basis of the three principles of peaceful reunification.

The United States and others have also tried to camouflage their delay in the troop withdrawal under the pretext of defending the Korean Armistice Agreement. This is also most absurd. Article 60 of the Armistice Agreement provides that within three months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held to settle through negotiation the questions of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and so on. If the provisions of the Armistice Agreement had been implemented, would not the questions have long been settled? Yet, owing to the obstruction of the United States and the South Korean authorities, the 1954 Geneva Conference failed to yield any result. In such circumstances, in order to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the Chinese People's Volunteers were completely, unilaterally and unconditionally withdrawn from Korea in 1958. However, the United States troops have all along refused to leave South Korea. It can thus be seen that, while paying lip service to the defence of the Armistice Agreement, the United States has in fact flagrantly violated the Agreement. Things are quite clear: if the United States really had the sincere desire for a solution, it would not have been difficult to resolve the question of the Armistice Agreement. In fact, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already reached an agreement with the South Korean authorities on the principles of independent and peaceful reunification and has further expressed its readiness

to negotiate with the United States, the other side of the Armistice Agreement, for a solution. If the United States were sincere, why has it failed to give any response thus far?

In his speech the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Li Jong Mok, put forward a series of very reasonable and concrete proposals on the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations, which fully and convincingly demonstrated the sincere desire of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a solution. The operative part of the draft resolution co-sponsored by Algeria and others has pointed to the way of taking appropriate measures for the solution of these problems. If the United States really wants a settlement and has no intention to keep its troops in south Korea indefinitely in support of the Pak Jung Hi clique's obstruction of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, what reason does it have to oppose those proposals?

The United States and other co-sponsors have also proposed that the Security Council consider the "future of the United Nations Command". As is known to all, like the UNCURK which was dissolved by the decision of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the so-called United Nations Command in south Korea is nothing but a product of the United States aggression against Korea committed under the signboard of the United Nations in 1950. The earlier "resolutions" of the Security Council on the Korean question were in violation of the United Nations Charter principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of any State and were adopted under the manipulation of the United States at a time when a permanent member of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China, was deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations, and are therefore entirely illegal and null and void. And now some people have reverted to these illegal resolutions with a request to refer the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops under the United Nations flag to the Security Council. Is this not an attempt to resurrect those illegal resolutions and to press for their recognition by the overwhelming majority of Member States which opposed or had nothing to do with those illegal resolutions, and is this not an attempt to delay indefinitely the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea with the help of the veto power? The Chinese delegation will firmly oppose such a proposal. We believe that it will not be permitted by any justice-upholding countries either.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always actively supported the third world countries of Asia, Africa and

Latin America in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism. The Korean people's cause for independent and peaceful reunification is in itself a component of the anti-imperialist struggle of the third world. That was why the fourth summit conference of the non-aligned countries adopted a resolution on the Korean question, calling upon the United Nations to take a decision on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and on the termination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

The draft resolution sponsored by Algeria and 37 other countries (A/C.1/677) fully embodies the principles of the United Nations Charter and the spirit of the resolution of the fourth summit conference of non-aligned countries and conforms to the desire of the people of all countries, including the American people. It is our hope that the current session of the General Assembly, upholding the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the consensus of the twenty-eighth session, will adopt the 38-nation draft resolution in an effort to relax the tension on the Korean peninsula, eliminate foreign interference and aggression and support the burning desire of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Assembly should firmly reject the draft resolution co-sponsored by the United States and others, which is designed to give an excuse for the continued interference in the internal affairs of Korea by foreign forces, for the perpetual division of Korea and for the preservation of imperialist rule in South Korea.

China and Korea are brotherly neighbours. The Chinese people have always firmly supported the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the series of reasonable proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to that end. We are convinced that, with the support of all the justice-upholding countries throughout the world, the Korean people will certainly surmount all obstacles to realize their just cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

### *Speech Made on December 9*

In the view of the Chinese delegation, in substance, the amendment proposed by the Saudi Arabian representative to

the draft resolution of the United States and others has not gone beyond the framework of the draft submitted by the United States and others. They have one point in common, that is, neither of them make any mention of the question of the withdrawal of all the foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations. They keep far away from this question as they do from plagues. They insist on referring the question of the dissolution of the United Nations Command for consideration by the Security Council.

As we have pointed out, the earlier "resolutions" of the Security Council on the Korean question were adopted under the manipulation of the United States in the abnormal circumstances in which the People's Republic of China, a permanent member of the Council, was deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations; these "resolutions" were in complete violation of the United Nations Charter principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of any State, and therefore they are utterly illegal and null and void. The proposal now to refer the question again to the Security Council is in fact an attempt to resurrect those illegal resolutions. Even the ridiculously scanty information about the so-called United Nations Command and the United Nations forces as provided by the Secretariat is sufficient to show that the Security Council has, in fact, had nothing to do with the so-called United Nations forces over a long period. The Secretariat is unable to answer any of the questions posed by the representatives, and it will have to seek the answer from the Pentagon of the United States Government. The so-called "United Nations Command" is in fact a command of the United States aggressor troops in Korea, and it is responsible only to the United States Government. Even the United States Government dare not come out to deny this. Now, as the people of the world are demanding ever more strongly the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea, the United States, compelled by the circumstances, has again invoked the Security Council as the last hurdle, in an attempt to retain the United States troops in South Korea for continued interference in Korea's internal affairs and for obstruction of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea with the help of the veto power in the Security Council. This is of course absolutely impermissible.

In their draft resolution, the United States and others mention the United Nations Command. I might well describe their plight by telling a fable. Several blind people are discussing what an elephant is like. Some say it is like a water pipe, others

say it is like a pillar, still others say it is like a wall. As to what is the United Nations Command, can you explain it clearly? Can the Secretariat do so? Since the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, came to office, he has never received a single report from the so-called United Nations Command, not even a word. Things are very clear: the United States and other co-sponsors want this Committee to vote with closed eyes as the blind people talking about the elephant. Is there a United Nations Command in South Korea, and what differences are there between this Command and the United States Command? How many troops are there under this Command? How many troops are carrying out duties in the demilitarized zone of several hundred kilometres? Can they answer these questions? The spokesman of the United States Mission has alleged that there are only a hundred or a hundred-odd people under the United Nations Command. Then what troops are the United States Second Division which are performing their duty along the Military Demarcation Line? Are they United States troops or United Nations troops? Paragraph 13 of the Korean Armistice Agreement signed by the United States on behalf of the United Nations Command as one of the belligerent parties stipulates explicitly "cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing military personnel". If the United States troops in South Korea are not United Nations troops, then where have the United States troops come from? You have asserted that they were sent in pursuance of the bilateral agreement between the United States and South Korea. If this is the case, how would you treat the provisions of paragraph 13 of the Armistice Agreement?

What we are hearing now is sheer quibbling, and shameless quibbling. Its purpose is to perpetuate the stay of the United States troops in South Korea, continue the obstruction of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and the division of Korea. There are too many farces in the United Nations. What we are facing now is one of such farces, like the one we witnessed the other day on the Cambodian question. I will not talk at length on this question. Such are the facts. Anyone with eyes, with conscience and common sense will see them clearly.

The Chinese delegation and other co-sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 will vote against the Saudi Arabian amendment and the draft resolution submitted by the United States and others.

Just now the representative from Barbados has tried to prevent this Committee from voting on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L. 677 submitted by Algeria and 39 other coun-



tries. In our view, this is totally unjustified and is in violation of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

### *Speech Made at the Plenary Meeting of the Assembly*

The Chinese delegation has pointed out on many occasions that the prolonged stationing of United States troops in South Korea and the United States interference in Korea's internal affairs present the main obstacle to the Korean people's realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. In order to facilitate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it is imperative to eliminate the interference by outside force and have all the United States troops withdrawn from South Korea. This is the key to the solution of the Korean question, as well as the only correct road to the elimination of tension in the Korean peninsula.

The proceedings of the debate on the Korean question in the First Committee at the current session of the General Assembly have fully shown that the aforesaid just proposition reflects not only the greatest national aspiration and fundamental interests of the entire Korean people, but the common demand of all the justice-upholding countries and peoples as well.

In the course of the debate, the Chairman of the Delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Li Jong Mok and the representatives of many third world countries, presenting the facts and reasoned arguments and speaking out for justice, put forward a series of correct and reasonable proposals for the solution of the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. They also fully exposed the facts about the United States interference in Korea's internal affairs and its attempt at the perpetual division of Korea through persistent usurpation of the name of the United Nations. No amount of fine words and sophistry on the part of the United States and some of its followers can deny this basic fact.

This debate has played a very useful role of educating the world people, and, from a political and moral point of view, it is an important victory for the people of Korea and the rest of the world.

As is clear to all, the so-called draft resolution tabled by the United States and others is solely designed to provide the United States with an excuse for usurping the name of the United Nations to continue its interference in Korea's internal affairs and maintain the neo-colonialist rule of outside force in south Korea.

Its purpose is to delay a settlement of the Korean question, perpetuate the division of Korea and obstruct the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. What is more, it attempts to reimpose on the membership of the United Nations the illegal Security Council resolutions which are opposed by, or have nothing to do with, many United Nations Member States. This draft is in itself completely contradictory to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and against the will of the entire Korean people and the people of the rest of the world. Naturally, it is absolutely unacceptable to the Korean people and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world and is, therefore, null and void. It stands to reason that the Chinese delegation and many other delegations have rejected this so-called draft resolution imposed on the United Nations by a super-Power.

The United States and others have tried to impose their so-called draft resolution on the current session. They have resorted to such despicable means as the exertion of pressure and barely managed by a tie vote in the First Committee to prevent the adoption of the draft resolution tabled by Algeria and 39 other countries. This also shows that they have a guilty conscience and are devoid of any reasoned argument and that the truth and justice are not on their side. However, the United States has met and will surely continue to meet with the strong opposition of the entire Korean people and the people of the rest of the world for its illegal usurpation of the name of the United Nations to prolong its aggression, interference and division of Korea. In delaying a settlement of this question, the United States will only land itself in greater passivity and isolation.

Korea belongs to the entire Korean people. It is perfectly just to demand the elimination of the United States aggression and interference in Korea, the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed under the United Nations flag and the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. No force can obstruct this general trend and the will of the people, which are bound to triumph in the end. It will certainly be borne out by the process of historical development.

The Chinese and Korean peoples are intimate brothers. China and Korea are neighbours as closely linked as the lips and the teeth. The Chinese people will unswervingly stand on the side of the Korean people, fight shoulder to shoulder with them and support them in their just struggle. We are deeply convinced that with the support of the people throughout the

world, the entire Korean people will surely eliminate the aggression and interference of outside forces and win the final victory of reunifying their fatherland.



## ABDELLATIF RAHAL

### Algeria

*Speech Made on December 2*

When last year, on the recommendation of the First Committee, the General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution on Korea, the Members of the Assembly undoubtedly wanted to express their hope that the Korean problem would find therein a solution which would ease their consciences without, however, raising the question of past responsibilities.

This decision amounts to something like the following: We call upon you, North and South Koreans, whom the will to power and supremacy and the decision of the United Nations have condemned to live in two separate halves of your country, who for more than a quarter of a century have been paying for the folly of others, to settle your own problems yourselves now that world strategic calculations can leave you out of account.

We are the first to claim and to maintain that it is a matter for the Koreans themselves to settle their differences and to agree on the future of their country. "Korea for the Koreans" is something we would be tempted to cry, had not slogans of this kind been so degraded. The reunification of Korea should be the business of the Korean people, through dialogue, bringing together the authentic representatives of the different parts of the population and, of course, representatives of the Pyongyang and the Seoul Governments. This dialogue, which hitherto has been confined to the governmental level, has laid down the general principles providing a basis for the reunification of the country.

But at what point are we now, one year after having taken note of the situation? It does indeed appear that there has been no progress since then.

But we do not want to enter into this dispute, and we leave it to each to judge on his own the merits of the various arguments. The problem for us is not who is right and who is wrong.

it is not that of arbitrating between the claims and charges which each party puts forward, but to go well beyond the superficial appearances and to seek the real causes of the failure of the dialogue.

It would never occur to us to minimize the difficulties which have accumulated over so many years of animosity, distrust and even avowed hostility. No doubt it will require a great deal of courage and obduracy on the part of the leaders of both sides to confront this situation, to overcome their hesitation and reservations, to rebuild a unified country on the basis of the current situation.

These purely domestic problems are in no way surprising to us; but however complex they may be, the representatives of the Korean people can find appropriate solutions to them, provided they devote to this sufficient time and good will. They already agree on the general lines upon which the reunification of Korea should be based, something which, if it comes about peacefully, should lead to national independence and promote the great union of the nation.

What is clear now is that it is not enough to encourage the Koreans to continue their dialogue; all the necessary conditions must be created to further the progress and extension of that dialogue. If we refer to the statements of the Koreans, of North or South, we find that they claim to favour that dialogue and to be striving to find a settlement of their mutual problems. What then are we to conclude, except that there are external obstacles to such a settlement and that it is those obstacles which we must identify and if possible eliminate? The appeal made last year to the leaders of the two Koreas to continue their discussions can only be effective if, at the same time, we can eliminate all interference in their conversations.

On the subject of these foreign interventions in the Korean problem I shall confine myself to those of the United Nations since I do not want this debate to become too wide in scope, which might cause us to forget our essential object. If I address myself solely to this aspect of the matter at least nobody will be able to claim that in this Organization we are too inclined to interfere in matters which are beyond our competence. We already know in what circumstances the United Nations became involved in Korea and we do not want to revert to that episode. Within the framework of the consensus adopted in the course of our previous session the General Assembly decided to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. That was an extremely wise meas-

ure, for which we had been calling for a long time and which put an end to one form of intervention by the United Nations in the Korean question.

We want to be properly understood. This language does not mean that we condemn any intervention by the United Nations in international problems. That would mean denying it any possibility of acting to maintain international peace and co-operation and would thus call into question the purpose of its existence. But in the case of Korea the United Nations presence cannot be considered as part of the work it is supposed to do. On the contrary, it must be understood in the context of the cold war of that time and thus as an instrument of one of the parties to that confrontation. The maintenance of that presence now that the cold war is a thing of the past and there is a climate of détente between the great Powers is not only an anachronism but a danger which might jeopardize all that has been achieved with such difficulty towards a peaceful settlement of the differences inherited from the war.

The involvement of the United Nations in Korea is still marked by the presence in South Korea of a United Nations High Command and troops under the United Nations flag. That involvement is all the more regrettable for our Organization because it is really based on a fiction. It is no secret to anybody that the only foreign troops in Korea are American troops and that, despite the presence of its flag and its High Command, the Organization exercises neither authority nor control over those troops. The Members of the Organization cannot tolerate such a fraud indefinitely. It is time for the Organization to rediscover its true image and show itself to the world as the authentic expression of its Members' desire for peace, and not as the accomplice of imperialism which dare not act openly.

Can it be claimed sincerely that those troops under the United Nations flag can promote the establishment of a climate of confidence and eliminate any danger of a confrontation between North and South Korea? Not only may we doubt this, we may think, that, on the contrary, in acting as a bulwark for the Seoul régime and encouraging the fascist tendencies of its leaders, those troops are making even more difficult any action which might be taken on the basis of mutual understanding and reciprocal concessions. They are virtually condemning to failure in advance any attempt to resolve by dialogue the differences between the two parties in Korea.

Thus our Organization finds itself in the situation, which we cannot accept for it, of playing a divisive role and aggravat-

ing the misunderstandings and tensions instead of helping to overcome the conflicts and encourage tendencies towards unity. We are not under any illusion that we are taking part in healing the wounds of the past and contributing towards the reconciliation of a people which would not be wrong in attributing a large part of its misfortunes to our Organization. Let us not harbour that illusion by contenting ourselves with admonishing the parties concerned and calling on them to settle their own affairs for themselves while our Organization continues by its intervention to hinder if not actually jeopardize and invalidate such efforts.

The Koreans themselves are calling for the cessation of all foreign intervention, which makes more difficult the settlement of their problems and gets in the way of the direct dialogue between themselves which they wish to establish. Our Organization should be the first to set an example of such restraint and should continue the action it has begun to its logical conclusion by eliminating the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The withdrawal of all foreign troops under the United Nations flag is obviously necessary if we want to complete the work we started last year of bringing closer the peaceful reunification of Korea.

This is what we ask the Assembly to agree to do by adopting the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 which we are introducing on behalf of the 38 sponsors.

### *Speech Made on December 9*

I am certainly not the only one to observe that the atmosphere of this room today is the one which prevails on a great day, both in terms of the number of persons present in this room as well as the atmosphere that we all feel in it. It is clear that the debate which will culminate in our vote today is an important one, and this will explain the tension and the attention which we all observe today in this room.

I must say, on behalf of the group that I represent, that this atmosphere, this affluence, the importance that all of us attribute to the result of the debate has induced us to do everything we can to see to it that the voting procedure which is about to begin shortly under your guidance, Mr. Chairman, should take place in the fullest possible clarity. At the beginning of this debate we already gave the example of a courteous attitude and we have offered serious pledges concerning the honest and loyal

fashion in which we would wish this debate to come to its conclusion. It is in this same sense that today I would wish to say a few words before we embark upon the voting procedure, and these few words are exclusively designed to introduce the greatest possible clarity into this debate and avoid any confusion which might be harmful to the dignity of the work in the First Committee.

When the agenda of the First Committee refers to "Question of Korea", all delegations present here must bear in mind what the wording of that agenda item represents. I must recall how agenda item 104, entitled "Question of Korea" was finally inscribed in the agenda of our sessions. I shall recall first of all that on 16 August 1974 the first item was inscribed in the provisional agenda of the twenty-ninth session, and was entitled "Withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations."

On 3 September 1974 a second item was inscribed in the provisional agenda, and it was entitled: "Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula". It is clear, as far as we are concerned — as it should logically be clear in the minds of those who have placed this second item on the agenda — that these are two entirely different items whose only link resides in the fact that both of them relate to the question of Korea; because if the sponsors of the second item had thought for an instant that they would be speaking on the same item as the one already inscribed, there would have been no reason whatsoever for their calling for the inscription of a separate item.

I therefore maintain, on behalf of the group that I represent, and in the name also of the simplest logic — that when we are speaking of the question of Korea, we are dealing with two separate items which were brought together under the same heading solely for the convenience of discussion but which, in any event, have been inscribed in our agenda as two separate sub-paragraphs: (a) representing former item 106, and (b) representing former item 110.

We would therefore wish the First Committee to continue to consider that it is faced with two different aspects of the same question, each being dealt with by an independent draft resolution.

We would wish as of now to oppose any attempts at confusion by those who would seek to profit from the fact that these



two aspects have been merged under the same heading in order to induce the First Committee into error and to claim that this is one and the same question on which there are two different draft resolutions.

I think that the point I have just raised is clear and that no one here can claim that initially it related to or that it can now relate to the same question with respect to which different draft resolutions are now before you.

That being so, I hope I have contributed to clarifying the situation, and I hope also that the Committee itself and you, Mr. Chairman, in particular, will take this clarification into account in regard to the way in which the voting procedure is conducted.



## LADISLAV SMID

### Czechoslovakia

The statements made in the deliberations of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly by the representatives of an overwhelming majority of States Members have clearly shown appreciation of the gratifying fact that an all-embracing détente is opening up before mankind, with the promise of the relaxation of tensions in the political, military, economic and cultural fields.

There has been a generally expressed wish that détente should become a permanent and irreversible phenomenon. Our every-day efforts aimed in that direction should pursue relaxation of the tensions still existing, and the gradual and final elimination of all the relics of the cold war.

One of those relics of the cold war remaining unsolved is the situation on the Korean peninsula. After many years of unjustified delays, last year's session of the General Assembly took a step forward on the question of Korea through the significant adoption by consensus of a decision dissolving the illegal so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and approving three principles for the reunification of both parts of the country as agreed between the North and the South on 4 July 1972: namely, independence, peaceful reunification and Great National Unity. I should like to emphasize particularly the second aspect of the decision taken at last years' session of the General Assembly — that is, the reunification of both parts by peaceful means, without outside interference.

The initiative for the holding of peaceful negotiations between the North and the South originated with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The proposal of President Kim Il Sung of May 1972 served as a basis for the three well known principles, leading to the adoption of the abovementioned joint declaration of the North and the South in July 1972. Our

country had the opportunity to witness directly the efforts exerted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for peaceful negotiations between both parts of Korea, *inter alia* during the visit of the Czechoslovak Party and Government delegation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in June 1973. It was at that very time that Premier Kim Il Sung declared the five-point programme for independence and peaceful unification.

The five-point programme includes a proposal to end the state of military confrontation, to ease tension between the North and the South, to make possible collaboration and interchange between the northern and southern parts of the country in a large number of fields, to convene a Great National Assembly composed of representatives of all walks of life, political parties and organizations in the North and the South, and to establish a Confederation of both parts of the country. The five-point programme in principle solves all the problems that must be solved before there can be peaceful unification without outside interference. Elimination of the risks of military confrontation would be assisted by establishment of a joint North-South military commission to replace the present Military Armistice Commission, as well as by reduction of the strength of armed forces of both North and South to 100,000 men and cessation of the arms race.

The establishment of collaboration and contact between both parts of the country in various fields would deepen mutual understanding and increase trust between the two parties.

A particularly important question is the convening of the Great National Assembly composed of representatives of all political parties and social organizations, as well as individual personalities from the North and the South, which would consider further steps to be taken to implement and promote collaboration and interchange between both parts of the country in the political, economic and cultural fields.

The process of unification would culminate in the institution of a Confederation under a single national name. "The Confederal Republic of Koryo", which would apply for membership in the United Nations as one State.

The above peaceful programme has evoked a universal positive reaction. Czechoslovakia was among the first States officially to declare support for the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The joint Czechoslovak-Korean communiqué of 24 June 1973 states, *inter alia*, that:

"The Czechoslovak side expressed once again its

full support for the consistent line of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea directed towards solving the question of the unification of Korea without any outside interference, independently, on democratic principles, and by peaceful means, and, particularly, for the position expressed in the letter adopted by the second session of the Fifth Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea addressed to the Parliaments and Governments of all countries of the world."

Thus, the five-point programme of President Kim Il Sung represents an extremely important initiative for the unification of the two parts of the country, and for solving the conflict by way of negotiation, co-operation and mutual contacts.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has spared no effort in the ensuing period to turn the proposed programme into reality, and has proposed further forms of contact and negotiations between both sides on various levels. As an example, I should like to cite the significant proposal of 6 August 1974 by the Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland, which again submitted a detailed proposal on the convening of the Great National Congress of the representatives of the North and South.

In spite of all those efforts we are compelled to state, with regret, that all the initiatives and efforts that have been made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continue to be ruined by the unwillingness of the South Korean régime to implement what has already been agreed upon, its unwillingness to continue negotiations, and its efforts to prevent the people of South Korea from participating in the unification of the two parts of the country.

The South Korean Government systematically suppresses the aspirations of the people for the democratization of their society and for an independent and peaceful unification of their country. A memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, issued on 7 October 1974 (A/C.1/1048) gives a number of concrete examples proving that the régime of South Korea is not as yet willing to strive seriously for unification.

It is therefore the duty of the United Nations, on its part, to assist in putting an end to the utterly unnatural situation in Korea which has lasted for nearly 30 years. This year's session of the General Assembly should take a further step towards doing away with the situation we have inherited from the time

of the cold war. Such a step undoubtedly consists in withdrawing all foreign troops that are stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Everything indicates that one of the main causes of the tension between the two parts of the country is the very presence of foreign troops in the territory of South Korea; indeed, those very troops stand in the way of peaceful unification.

The will of the people of South Korea to unify the country and its desire for the withdrawal of foreign troops have been reflected, *inter alia*, in the petitions, demonstrations and manifestations which have nevertheless been ruthlessly suppressed by the South Korean régime. It is certainly no coincidence that the South Korean régime had to take emergency measures in January of this year, as well as the so-called "presidential emergency measures", threatening with imprisonment of up to 15 years every expression of the will of the people. This threat of suppressing the democratic rights of the people exists in the presence of troops that conceal themselves under the flag of the United Nations.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is in clear violation of the Armistice Agreement of 1953, which envisaged the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

The Czechoslovak delegation supports the proposal which has become the basis of the draft resolution submitted by 38 countries, before us in document A/C.1/L.677, which contains the demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea which are stationed there under the flag of the United Nations. That draft resolution corresponds to the interests of the Korean people and also to the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world. That draft is likewise in harmony with the decision of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algeria, which calls in unequivocal terms for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea, and for the termination of all forms of interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

The struggle of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful unification of its country is part of the overall struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism and for national liberation, independent development and the maintenance of peace in Asia and the whole world. The Czechoslovak people, like the peoples of all States of the Socialist community, has always supported the Korean people, and continues to do so, in its struggle for the withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea and for the peaceful unification of the country.



## **AHMED ESMAT ABDEL MEGUID**

**Egypt**

Once more the United Nations General Assembly is considering a question of great importance, namely, the question of Korea and the Korean people. The history of the tragic partition imposed upon the people of Korea about 30 years ago is well known to everyone. It is an established fact that the Korean people had no choice, nor did it play any role in the artificial partitioning of its country along the line of the 38th parallel, that imaginary line that was supposed to be a temporary borderline separating on land and sea the areas of military command and responsibility of the Allied forces during the Second World War, and not a line of demarcation separating for ever members of the same people and country.

Our attitude has always been, and still remains, one of deep belief in the inevitability of the elimination of the artificial division of the country and the realization of the hope of the Korean people for the reunification of its country. We have supported, and will always support, every sincere initiative aimed at the realization of that hope or leading to the creation of favourable conditions for its realization.

We have welcomed the contacts between the representatives of the Korean people in the North and the South and have shared the hopes of numerous peace-loving countries that such contacts and dialogues will result in progress towards the desired goal, namely the peaceful reunification of Korea without any external or foreign intervention.

The historic communiqué issued as a result of those contacts on 4 July 1972 was an element of encouragement to us to cherish that hope, and we declared our whole-hearted welcome of the principles embodied in that communiqué: first, that the reunification of Korea should be achieved through independent means and without any intervention on the part of external forces of

any kind; secondly, that the reunification should be accomplished along peaceful lines and without resort to force; and thirdly, that there is a necessity for consolidating national unity and integrity.

Last year we were among the first to welcome and support the understanding achieved between the two parties, which led to the result reflected in the resolution adopted by the General Assembly during its last session. While we regret the fact that no progress has been achieved since that last resolution was adopted by the Assembly, we nevertheless find it our imperative duty here to work towards the elimination of all possible obstacles in order to create a favourable climate for a dialogue and contacts between the Korean people in the north and the south.

We honestly and sincerely believe that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea constitutes one of the most serious obstacles impeding the creation and establishment of mutual confidence between the two parties that is essential for the success of their dialogue, and we believe that the withdrawal of such forces will be a positive step towards the elimination of the fears and difficulties that have prevailed throughout the past period.

Allow me to quote here what the Foreign Minister of Egypt declared in his address before the General Assembly during the current session on 1 October of this year:

“We also hope that the foreign forces will be withdrawn from South Korea and that the Korean people in both the north and the south will be left to decide their own affairs, free from provocation or intervention.”  
(A/PV.2250, p. 28-30).

Creating an atmosphere of mutual confidence and eliminating any element or factor alien to the will and determination of the Korean people to exercise self-determination, constituted one of the most important objectives which motivated the non-aligned countries to adopt their important resolution in the recent summit conference in September 1973, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and putting an end to any foreign intervention in any form in the internal affairs of Korea.

Without going into details concerning the circumstances and conditions surrounding the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in the 1950s on Korea we believe that the role of the United Nations in the 1970s should of necessity be very positive and that role should influence the facilitation of the peaceful

reunification of Korea without any foreign intervention. Now, the international climate, through the détente that has replaced the cold war, has made it imperative for the United Nations to participate by fulfilling its role and safeguarding its reputation in this respect.

Peace in Korea, after that, depends on the determination of both parties not to resort to force. In this respect, we would like to declare our wholehearted support of the initiative taken by the leaders of North Korea declaring their readiness to replace the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement. We also welcome the five-point programme declared by President Kim Il Sung for the real peaceful reunification of Korea.

My delegation joins the sponsors of the draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, basing itself in this on the following considerations and principles: first, our belief in the right of every people to self-determination independently of any foreign and external intervention, and our deep and firm belief in the right and ability of the Korean people to exercise this right. Secondly, our belief in the necessity of creating favourable circumstances for achieving the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Thirdly, our desire to safeguard the reputation and role of the United Nations.

In conclusion, we should like to express the hope that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 will enjoy unanimous support in order to achieve the ultimate goal by creating a favourable climate for the Korean people in which to exercise their right of self-determination in full freedom and peace.





## **GUERO GROZEV**

### **Bulgaria**

Once again, the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is discussing and has to take a decision on a political problem of outstanding importance, namely, the question of Korea.

Before giving the views of the Bulgarian delegation, I should like to stress something which is, in our view, of fundamental importance to this discussion. Once again, it appears that departure from the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter inevitably leads to negative results and makes more difficult a solution of complex political problems and damages the authority of the world Organization. This has been particularly clearly demonstrated at this session of the General Assembly. It is a matter of coincidence or, rather, as a result of historical developments that our Organization has had to deal at this session with three problems in respect of which it bears particular responsibility: those of Cyprus, Palestine and Korea.

The solution of those problems on a just and lasting basis has been postponed and delayed, above all because of the violation of two fundamental principles of the Charter: the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and the right to exercise their sovereignty in settling their own internal problems.

The discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations has a long history. It is regrettable that that history cannot be credited to our Organization. After the tragic events in Korea that resulted from the aggressive acts of imperialist forces, those forces managed for many years to avoid holding a debate on the substance of the Korean problem. It was also the fault of those same circles that the examination of these problems took place without the participation of one of the parties directly concerned, that is, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The principal purpose of the resolutions adopted in those

circumstances was to prolong the existence of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which had been illegally created.

The practical results of those actions and that incorrect approach to the Korean problem were the military occupation of the south of the country and the division of the Korean people which has continued to the present day.

Last year the General Assembly put an end to discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Members of the United Nations had an opportunity to hear for the first time the views of its delegation. This was an important step towards the restoration of the authority of our Organization, and certainly it has also contributed a great deal to an objective examination of the substance of the Korean problem and has yielded the first positive results. With the unanimous agreement of the General Assembly, the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was dissolved. It was also acknowledged by all that it was necessary to continue efforts towards the reunification of the country by peaceful means, on the basis of the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué, dated 4 July 1972.

The granting to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of the status of permanent observer in the United Nations and the establishment of a permanent mission in New York was of fundamental importance for the examination and a normal and objective settlement of the Korean problem.

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate most cordially the delegation here of the fraternal country of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok.

The reunification of Korea, 29 years after the division of the country and 21 years after the conclusion of the armistice, has still not been achieved. There is no doubt that this reunification would have occurred long ago if the Korean people had been able to settle, in exercise of their sovereignty and without outside interference, the problems of its future. After the important decisions adopted at the twenty-eighth session, it would be only natural and logical now for the General Assembly to take a further step forward, in keeping with the United Nations Charter, and create the necessary conditions for a solution of the Korean problem. It is precisely this which determines, in our view, the importance of the discussion of the Korean question at this session. The General Assembly would be doing its duty if it expressed clearly and categorically its views on a

problem, the solution to which can brook no further delay. The General Assembly should recognize that the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea, that is to say, a continuation of intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, is the major obstacle to dialogue between the north and the south in order to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

An analysis of the development of the situation in the Korean peninsula shows most clearly that the present purpose of the United Nations is to give every encouragement to the elimination of external obstacles to the reunification of the country, in the light of the clearly-expressed will of the whole Korean people. Indeed, that is precisely what the consensus of 28 November 1973 calls for, the consensus which expressed the general hope that the south and the north would continue their dialogue and expand their exchanges and co-operation.

The facts show that this unanimous decision of the General Assembly has been complied with by only one of the parties, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Faithful to its unswerving policy in keeping with the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is continuing energetically and constantly to do everything in its power to bring about as soon as possible a practical solution to the reunification of the country.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has proposed to the South Korean authorities that representatives of all sectors of the population of the south and the north should take part in the dialogue, and that talks under the auspices of the Red Cross, in the spirit of the Joint Communiqué, should be resumed, and that the barriers to reunification should be removed. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with regard to the signing of a peace agreement between north and south, which would bind the two parties not to resort to force in their relations, proposals for the reduction of the armed forces of the two parties and the elimination of all military confrontation, are by no means of minor importance. All those proposals and the concrete and constructive initiatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proposals which apply equally to the South Korean authorities and to other interested countries, were stated once again in the detailed declaration of the leader of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, in the First Committee on 25 November this year.

It is clear that the policy of the Democratic People's Re-

public of Korea is based upon the sincere wish of its Government to put an end as soon as possible to the division of Korea, so that the internal affairs of the nation can be settled by the Korean people itself without any outside interference, in keeping with the principle of national self-determination and by peaceful means.

In flagrant contradiction to this reasonable policy, which takes account of the aspirations of the whole Korean people, the South Koreans and those who support them still continue to oppose the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The purpose of this conduct is to thwart the practical implementation of the principles for the peaceful reunification of the country, laid down in the Joint Communiqué. The policy of the South Korean authorities can really only be explained as thinly veiled ambition, the principal aim of which is, by relying on outside forces, to nullify the results already achieved. All the arguments which we heard repeated here a few days ago to the effect that the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are "unrealistic", as they put it, and have some hidden intent behind them, are obviously without foundation and their only purpose is to divert the attention of world public opinion and that of the United Nations from the true causes of the failure of efforts to solve the Korean problem.

They are in fact a reflection of the lack of genuine will to abide by the principles of the Joint Communiqué and to continue the dialogue. They betray an intention to freeze the positive results already achieved and to reduce the opportunities that had emerged for developing many forms of co-operation between the South and the North in the political, economic, military and cultural fields and in others.

Can anyone have any doubt concerning the basis of this policy and the source of its inspiration? It is a secret to no one that, while on the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there is not a single foreign soldier, in South Korea there are still, today, tens of thousands of armed foreign troops. American troops, who, moreover, are illegally using the flag of the United Nations and acting under the fictitious Command of the world Organization. The United Nations can no longer go on ignoring these facts if our Organization really wishes to make a contribution to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

That is why it is high time that the General Assembly took a clear and unequivocal stand on the key problem involved in carrying out the reunification of Korea and reducing tension in that area; that is, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from

South Korea, and the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people. Unless that problem is resolved, any statement expressing a wish or an intention to contribute to the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea is nothing but empty words. Such statements testify either to a lack of sincerity and genuine will to accelerate the solution of the Korean problem, or to an insufficiently objective assessment of the actual situation.

The Korean people rightly expects the United Nations to give its unreserved support to its just cause and likewise expects our Organization to make an effective contribution to the creation of conditions favourable to the sovereign and peaceful reunification of the country.

As I have already emphasized, the United Nations bears a particular responsibility for the situation that persists in Korea. All the necessary conditions exist at the present time for the General Assembly to undo the harm that has been done to the authority of our Organization through the decision taken 24 years ago in contravention of the United Nations Charter. Doing so would serve to bolster the confidence of the Korean people in the ability of the United Nations to contribute to the reunification of the country and the establishment of a lasting peace in that region of the world.

In full accord with its unswerving and consistent policy of supporting the just cause of the Korean people, the People's Republic of Bulgaria was one of the sponsors of the proposal to include in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session the item entitled "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations", and also of the draft resolution, submitted by 38 Member States — or perhaps 39 by now — appearing in document A/C.1/L.677. We are firmly convinced that the adoption of that draft resolution will be an important and perhaps decisive step towards the elimination of a historic injustice and towards the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula. Indeed, this draft resolution contains all the elements necessary to encourage efforts to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South.

The presence of foreign armed forces in South Korea is a political anachronism, since it is obviously in contradiction of the objective universally acknowledged — although in some cases acknowledged in words only — of putting an end to an abnormal situation, namely the division of the Korean people. If that is indeed the aim the United Nations wishes to achieve,

it would be quite natural, fair and legitimate for the North and the South to be placed on an equal footing in the quest for a solution of this problem which is of such vital importance for the future of Korea. In other words, it is absolutely necessary to establish the conditions that will make it possible for the two parties to take action along these lines in circumstances of equal sovereignty and independence.

As a matter of fact, the decision to dissolve the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has confirmed the absence of any legal justification for the interference by the United Nations in the internal affairs of Korea. That decision of the General Assembly has at the same time done away with any legal justification for the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea under the United Nations flag or on any other pretext whatsoever.

The adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L. 677 would represent an act of collective political wisdom and would be a new affirmation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. At the same time, it would be in keeping with the interests of peace and the aspirations of the entire Korean people, and in the interests of peace and security in the Far East and in the world as a whole.

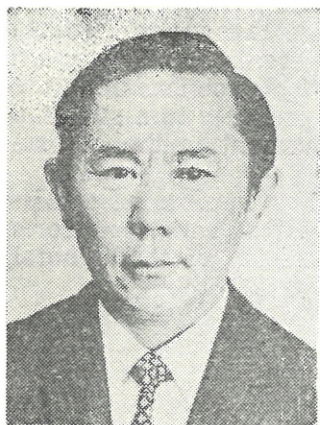
The United Nations cannot fail to respond to the most sacred aspirations of this heroic and industrious people, this people that has undergone so much suffering and made so many sacrifices to safeguard its national independence and its liberty.

Several months ago I had the opportunity of visiting that magnificent country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of forming an idea of the fervent desire of the Korean people to live in peace and to work for the accelerated economic and social development of their country. The remarkable success of the hard-working Korean people in the north of the country shows how much greater could have been the results of peaceful construction if the efforts of the entire people and the natural resources of both the North and the South could have been combined, and when these efforts are exerted in circumstances in which people know that they are working for their own future and prosperity.

Times change. Today the approach to the Korean question can be and must be completely different from the approach that was forced on the United Nations at a time when the forces which preferred confrontation to political and peaceful solution of international problems had the upper hand in certain countries. That is why the adoption of a resolution which would lead

as soon as possible to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea would be in keeping with the general wish to extend to all parts of the world the positive changes which have occurred in international relations. The events of recent years have shown that many controversial political problems inherited from the past can be solved peacefully, precisely in a situation where there has been a further improvement in the general political climate.

The Bulgarian delegation would like to express its conviction that it is precisely along these lines that both the efforts and the decisions of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be aimed.



## **TSEVEGZHAVYN PUNTSAGNOROV**

### **Mongolia**

The Mongolian delegation would first of all like to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok. We have already had an opportunity to hear the statement of Comrade Li Jong Mok who, as he did at the twenty-eighth session, depicted the actual state of affairs in the Korean peninsula and put forward a number of constructive proposals designed to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of his fatherland.

The Mongolian delegation, together with socialist and many other States, is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677. As is well known, at last year's session the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. At that time our delegation appraised that decision as the first important step towards the positive discussion of the Korean problem in the United Nations. At the same time, we pointed out that the most important elements in the Korean problem still awaited a solution. We consider it logical for the United Nations now to take the next decisive step towards the removal of the major obstacle to a solution of the Korean problem, that is, a decision to withdraw all foreign troops occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag. That is precisely the fundamental content of the draft resolution of which we are a sponsor. Like the other sponsors, we have proceeded on the basis of universally acknowledged principles of international relations enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the historic decisions of the Organization, which recognize the sovereign right of every people to determine its own destiny independently without any outside interference.

It is now high time to put an end to the abnormal situation



where the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, in despite of the aspirations and wishes of the Korean people is hindering its national reunification. Interference in the internal affairs of Korea under the cover of the United Nations, which has gone on for more than two decades now, has done serious damage to the prestige and authority of our Organization.

As we are aware, this painful fact in the life of the United Nations derives from the dark times of the cold war when imperialistic circles attempted to use the United Nations to justify their aggressive policy of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and of support of reactionary régimes. It was precisely those circles which in June and July 1950 imposed upon the Security Council, in the absence of some of its permanent members and without hearing the representatives of all the interested parties, a number of illegal decisions which sanctioned the dispatch to Korea of foreign troops under the United Nations flag.

It is well known that the so-called United Nations forces sent to Korea and formally representing 16 States in fact were American troops which were financed by the United States. The so-called United Nations Command in fact is an American command, neither accountable to nor under the control of the United Nations. Thus, the United Nations flag, in flagrant violation of the Charter, continues to mask intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

There is no justification for the stationing of foreign troops on Korean soil, particularly because in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there is not a single foreign soldier. It is no secret that the presence of American troops and the setting up of military bases in the South of Korea is dictated by far-reaching strategic calculations of the Pentagon. The presence of a vast South Korean Army which, according to the testimony of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, considerably exceed the armed forces of the North, the military training in South Korea simulating an invasion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the flow of American weapons into South Korea, and other facts show what is the real source of the threat to peace in the Far East. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is helping the Seoul régime to suppress the democratic movement and to stifle the authentic voice of the people, is multiplying the sufferings of millions of separated families, is inciting the South Korean authorities to confrontation with the North and is exacerbating the situation in the Far East. That is why, in our view, the strug-

gle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the south of the country is in its very essence just and lawful and is a liberation struggle which expresses the fundamental national interests of Korea, the interests of ensuring peace and security in Asia and in the Far East. It is no accident that its struggle has met with widespread international support.

Regardless of the fact that some people are trying to distort the essence of the situation, the fact remains that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been consistently in favour of the independent, peaceful and democratic reunification of the country and of a solution to the key problems which would promote national reunification of the country.

The representatives of the South Korean authorities, however, speaking under the camouflage of demagogic phraseology, favour the preservation and perpetuation of the division of Korea and support in practice the maintenance of the occupation of the country by foreign troops. Such a fallacious policy, of course, cannot fail to arouse ever-growing indignation on the part of widespread circles among the population of South Korea, including people of the most varied political convictions and religious persuasions.

In this connexion, I should like to refer to a letter from eight United States Congressmen of 30 October 1974 to the President of the United States in which they urged that he should express the growing concern of Americans at the suppression of democratic freedoms occurring in South Korea.

My delegation is against any attempts designed to keep foreign troops in Korea and to perpetuate the division of the country. We have in mind particularly the proposal of the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of representatives of the two parts of Korea, or the admission of those of one part of it. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches considerable importance to the implementation of the three principles agreed upon by both parties for the national reunification of Korea. My Government supports the unification programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that consists of five points and was put forward by President Kim Il Sung on 23 June 1973. That programme reflects the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that the Korean people itself should solve the Korean problem by means of talks between the North and the South. We would like to highlight the importance of such peaceful initiatives on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the message of the Supreme People's Assembly of that country to the Con-

gress of the United States with regard to the holding of talks for the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States with the purpose of creating pre-conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for expanding the Co-ordination Commission, and the proposal of President Kim Il Sung, of 4 March 1974, in which he once again appealed for the convening of a great national congress or a political consultative conference of the North and the South. We believe that the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is designed to improve the situation on the Korean peninsula, the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between the South and the North, and the creating of favourable conditions for the implementation of the aspirations of the Korean people for reunification.

My delegation would like to point out that in recent years, thanks to the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, actively supported by the socialist and many peace-loving States, certain encouraging trends have been observed in the Korean peninsula. I have in mind in particular the dialogue which has taken place between representatives of the North and the South of Korea, the results of which were reflected in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and also in the creation of a standing political consultative organ, the Co-ordination Commission of North and South. It is the duty of the United Nations to do everything in its power to promote the development and strengthening of these positive trends. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea would not only remove a fundamental obstacle to the national reunification of the Korean people and facilitate the dialogue between North and South, but would also eliminate a source of dangerous tension in the Far East; and this, without any doubt, would promote further easing of international tension.

The Mongolian delegation calls upon members of the Committee to support the draft resolution A/C.1/L.677, and by so doing, to make a contribution to the positive solution of one of the important problems of the day.



## **V. N. MARTYNNENKO**

### **Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic**

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, first of all, would like most cordially to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to

take part in the discussion of the Korean question.

We would also like most warmly to congratulate the head of the delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok, for his remarkable statement of 25 November, in which he gave us a profound analysis of the Korean problem, depicting the just and impartial position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and giving us a detailed explanation of the policy for attaining the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Thanks to the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, actively supported by the Soviet Union, the socialist and many peace-loving countries, with regard to the problem of settling the Korean question, some very favourable elements have now emerged. The official representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of South Korea held direct talks, the results of which are contained in the Joint Communiqué of the North and the South, dated 4 July 1972. In order to solve the issues between the two parts of Korea and to promote the peaceful reunification of the country, a standing political consultative organ was set up, the Co-ordination Committee of North and South.

However, the talks, which have already gone on for more than two years now within the framework of the Co-ordination Committee, have not yielded any results, since the Seoul regime has adopted an attitude of open obstruction and engages in fruitless discussion on secondary matters. In South Korea itself, the authorities continue their harsh persecution of all patriots who are in favour of establishing broad links with the North

and the democratization of public life in the South. In their reluctance to respond to the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and in their desire to perpetuate the division of Korea into two States, the South Korean authorities are relying primarily on the foreign troops which, for more than 20 years, have occupied South Korea. As was correctly pointed out in his statement by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, the presence of foreign troops in the Korean peninsula, South Korea, and throughout the Far East, preserves tension and perpetuates the constant threat to peace.

Such a situation, quite naturally, is arousing serious concern on the part of many States and peoples. Thirty-eight countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, proposed the inclusion of the item on the agenda entitled, "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". This is a reflection of the growing concern of world public opinion about the continuing illegal foreign occupation of the south of Korea and the consequent danger to the cause of peace in this part of the world. The perpetuation of this situation, which has been in existence now for more than two decades, has engendered a very dangerous source of tension in the Far East. It goes without saying that the withdrawal of foreign troops would promote the strengthening of peace and security in this part of the world and would be in keeping with the interests of the Korean people itself and with the realization of its aspirations for the peaceful, democratic reunification of the country. The favourable changes which have occurred in the world, now under the influence of the easing of international tension, have created favourable conditions for a constructive discussion of this topical and urgent problem at this session of the General Assembly.

The Ukrainian SSR accepted with satisfaction the decision taken at the twenty-eighth session for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We view this decision as a considerable victory for all peace-loving States and as a first attempt to call a halt to the use of the United Nations as a cover for purposes and aims that have nothing in common with the principles and purposes of the Charter of this international Organization.

We also welcomed the cessation of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the participation of its representatives in the discussion of the Korean item. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR views this as evidence that,

after a long period of flagrant and inadmissible discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United Nations has begun to do something to remedy what had been imposed by the imperialist Powers during the years of the cold war in violation of the principles of the Charter, namely, the decision to intervene in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The United Nations has taken a first step in this important matter, and now it would be only natural and logical, as has already been pointed out today, to take the next step and completely halt intervention in the affairs of Korea, and by so doing to create favourable conditions for the settlement by the Korean people itself of its own internal affairs. Such a logical step is dictated by the United Nations Charter and by the need to maintain and to strengthen peace and by the inadmissibility of such a disgraceful situation where the United Nations flag is still being used to justify illegal intervention in the affairs of the Korean people.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is a source of constant military and political tension in the Korean peninsula, and an obstacle to the normalization of relations between both parts of Korea. This is particularly intolerable in conditions in which, upon the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, practical steps are being taken towards the peaceful democratic reunification of the country. The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea said in its statement that it had a proposal consisting of five points drafted by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on national reunification, the essence of which is:

“to remove the state of military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south, to realize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and the south, to convene a Great National Congress composed of the representatives of people of all walks of life and all political parties and social organizations in the north and the south, to institute a North-South Confederation under the single national title of the Confederate Republic of Koryo, and to enter the United Nations under the single national title.” (2029th meeting, p. 42)

These proposals open the way for the Korean people to solve the problem of reunification in accordance with its will and national interests.

The broad and constructive programme of national reunification of Korea also put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its memorandum of 7

October 1974 stresses the:

“invariable, consistent policy of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea to put an early end to the division of Korea and settle the internal affairs of the nation by the Korean people themselves without any interference of outside forces in accordance with the principle of national self-determination and by peaceful means”. (A/C.1/1048, p. 3)

The Ukrainian SSR supports the practical initiatives of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and the consistent peaceful policy of that country which would promote a normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula, the strengthening of peace in that part of the world, and would open up the way to peaceful national reunification.

Unfortunately, the Seoul regime, relying on outside forces, has adopted a course of open obstruction of the practical implementation of these initiatives. The Seoul authorities have, in practice, brought the dialogue between the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and South Korea to a standstill. Under various trumped-up pretexts, they have been rejecting the peaceful proposals of the Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea designed to avert military confrontation, to conclude a new peace agreement, and to expand comprehensive links between the two parts of Korea. The obstructionist policy of Seoul and its disregard of the principles of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 are hindering the solution of the Korean problem.

We cannot but point out in this regard that the foreign troops in South Korea are in practice a major bulwark of the reactionary, anti-popular dictatorial regime and are used by it to extend their tenure of power and for the perpetuation of the division of Korea. The illegal presence of these troops under the camouflage of the United Nations flag is a hindrance to a peaceful settlement and a continuation of dialogue, is exacerbating the state of military confrontation and undermining the principles of preserving and perpetuating peace in Korea and in the Far East. Therefore, the continued stationing of foreign troops in South Korea is not only dangerous to the cause of peace in this area, undermining efforts aimed at normalizing and bringing about the peaceful reunification of the country, but also is damaging to the authority of the United Nations itself.

It should also be stressed that the continuing presence of foreign troops in South Korea constitutes a flagrant violation both of the Armistice Agreement in Korea, which provided for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea after the con-

clusion of the armistice, and of the principles of the Joint Communiqué of North and South aimed at the reunification of the country without foreign intervention. It is impossible to use the so-called American-South Korean treaty on mutual security in justification of the presence of American troops in South Korea since that is in violation of the Armistice Agreement in Korea. There is no legal basis for keeping foreign troops stationed in South Korea nor was there ever any basis for intervention in Korean affairs by means of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which was dissolved by a decision of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR whole-heartedly shares the view of other delegations that the basis for the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula and for the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea is the immediate cessation of all intervention from outside in its affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign troops under the United Nations flag stationed in the south of the country, and this is precisely the purpose of the draft resolution introduced by a group of countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, in document A/C.1/L.677. The adoption of this draft resolution would be a decision that the Korean people has long awaited from the United Nations, a decision that would promote its efforts to reunify Korea in a single national State. "The reunification of Korea is the internal affair of the Korean people and is a matter which should be settled by the Korean people itself without any outside intervention. This is its inalienable, sovereign right.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is a flagrant violation of this right, and these troops are playing the shameful role of a barrier to the fulfilment of the national aspirations and wishes of the Korean people.

At the same time we cannot but point out that the other draft resolution, which is contained in document A/C.1/L.676, entitled "Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security in the Korean peninsula", has quite different purposes.

Behind the nebulous and lengthy title of the proposal lurks a desire to divert the attention of the General Assembly from the urgent key question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. In substance, the purpose of the proposal is to continue foreign intervention and maintain tension in Korea and in that part of the world.



The opponents of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea assert that such withdrawal would increase the danger of conflict, and they attempt to have recourse, for their purposes, to the non-existent, mythical "threat from the North".

None of these so-called arguments can withstand the slightest criticism.

We have also witnessed attempts to have recourse, for their purposes, to the issue of the so-called guarantees; but it has long been obvious that it is precisely the practical implementation of the peaceful proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the easing of military confrontation and tension, the development of a peaceful dialogue between south and north, without outside interference, and the peaceful solution of all controversial issues — and not the maintenance of the existing situation — which is the best guarantee of peace in Korea and the Far East. But these guarantees are unreal so long as foreign troops remain in South Korea. That is why what we have to aim at is the achievement of the withdrawal of all those troops, which are the main source of tension in the area, and this is the essence of the issue and the key to the solution of the problem in the interests of the Korean people and of peace and security.

In passing over in silence the major issue, which is the total prohibition of outside interference and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 is contrary not only to the interests of the Korean people and of peace and security but also to the interests of the United Nations itself. It cannot be viewed as a positive approach, for not only does it fail to remove the major obstacles but it actually strengthens those obstacles and preserves a source of tension in Korea.

It is clear to all objective people that the interests of the Korean people and of peace and security in Asia require the earliest possible elimination of this source of tension. Such an approach to the question is one of the imperatives of our time. Everywhere in the world now the process of détente is gaining momentum and there is a general clearing away of the debris of the cold war and the development of peaceful relations and co-operation among States. And who should it be, if not the United Nations, that should promote these purposes rather than oppose them? It is the duty of the United Nations to achieve the cessation of interference in the affairs of the Korean people. That would be a very important contribution to the cause of détente, of strengthening peace and security, and of the re-

removal of the barriers which are preventing a constructive dialogue on the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea. A positive decision on the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag would be in keeping with the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, would not only promote the interests of strengthening peace and security in the Far East but also make a substantial contribution to the cause of the general improvement of international relations and the enhancing of the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.



## JACQUES D. TOGBE

### Togo

I should like to associate myself, on behalf of the delegation of Togo, with previous speakers in conveying to our Chairman, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, my warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to preside over this Committee. His election is a tribute of esteem and confidence in him and is worthy of the great country which he represents, a country with which my country maintains friendly and very cordial relations.

Since the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly the debate on the question of Korea has entered a new phase, which has broken with old habits. For the first time representatives of North and South Korea have been admitted to participate in the debate as observers. In inviting them so to do our Organization has at last, after many delays caused by the manoeuvres of certain great Powers, faced the fact that the future of the Korean people is first and foremost a matter for the Koreans themselves. That is all the more true because the consensus adopted on 28 November 1973 by the General Assembly merely endorsed the three fundamental principles contained in the Joint Communiqué published on 4 July 1972 by North and South Korea in regard to the reunification of Korea. Those principles were:

- "1. The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon force or outside interference.
- "2. The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side.
- "3. Great national unity should be promoted."

The consensus of 28 November 1973, which I have just mentioned, constitutes beyond any doubt, in the opinion of my delegation, an important first step towards reunification. In

adopting it, the General Assembly wished clearly and unequivocally to reaffirm the unity of the Korean people and the unity of the Korean nation, which are one and the same reality. The Korean people has never considered itself to be a divided people. The interminable foreign occupation to which it is subjected has simply strengthened its faith in unity, and there are many facts which prove this.

In Asia, Korea was the first victim chosen to serve as the testing ground for this new form of foreign domination which was conceived and prepared by imperialism and hegemony combined. The American and Soviet troops, as everyone knows, occupied Korean territory immediately after the fall of the Hitler régime in 1945, with the purpose, we were told, of chasing out the Japanese occupier. But the heroic struggle of the Korean people against Japanese domination and its resistance until final victory are all too often forgotten. Its faith in freedom and national independence forged for ever during more than 30 years of fascist-imperialist domination the patriotism of a people which has been tried for too long, and has welded its national unity.

Once the storm had passed, peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples and nations which had revolted and fought against nazism and fascism aspired to the freedom and sovereignty that they had lost or had been severely tried. Paradoxically, the Korean people saw its national territory split up and placed under a new foreign domination.

The Korean people, embittered and revolted, categorically rejected, in a spirit of solidarity and national dignity, so oppressive and sinister a plan. As can be seen, the Korean nation unanimously rejected illegality, oppression and interference. It was then that the United States, unable to agree with its partners, decided in 1947 to bring the Korean affair to the United Nations.

And herein lies the paradox. How can we in fact believe that the Korean question was brought before the United Nations by those who divided the Korean people? It is unquestionable that they acted thus in their own interests. We know also that they did so, not to comply with the fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization — which is an Organization of free peoples — but in the name of hegemony and to perpetuate illegality and oppression, because to divide a people arbitrarily against its will is, in our opinion, illegality and oppression. Unfortunately, our Organization bears a large share of the responsibility for perpetuating illegality in respect of the Korean people. That is the least that can be said. From illegality to ille-

gality, from compromise to compromise, our Organization allowed itself complacently to be led into the present situation.

When on 14 November 1947 the General Assembly adopted, under pressure of a great Power, resolution 112 (II), entitled "The problem of the independence of Korea", it committed its first illegality towards the Korean people. It sided with the partisans of domination; it acted in flagrant contradiction of the principles of self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. Finally, it endorsed notorious trusteeship plan, which had been conceived and proposed in 1945 for the Korean people by the foreign Powers which occupied it. It transformed that plan into compulsory trusteeship.

In fact, resolution 112 (II) of 14 November 1947, while recognizing that the Korean question was, above all, of primary concern to the Korean people itself and that it affected its freedom and independence, decided — without even having heard the representatives of the Korean people and despite the insistence of a great Power — to set up a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. In that same resolution, the General Assembly recommended:

"...that the elections be held not later than 31 March 1948 on the basis of adult suffrage and by secret ballot to choose representatives with whom the Commission may consult regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people and which representatives, constituting a National Assembly, may establish a National Government of Korea. The number of representatives from each voting area or zone should be proportionate to the population, and the elections should be under the observation of the Commission".

Interference and illegality are there before us. The facts need no comments; they more than speak for themselves.

The nefarious and tendentious role of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, and all the succeeding ones, does not require any proof. It was constituted in the main dangerously to jeopardize the opportunities for a peaceful settlement and reunification of the Korean nation. Thus, in May 1948 elections were held in South Korea under the fallacious pretext that there was a sufficiently liberal atmosphere prevailing. In December 1948, on the proposal of that same Commission, the General Assembly declared that the Government of South Korea was the only legitimate Korean Government. And to complete its work of illegality, the Assembly in October 1949 called

on the Commission to observe all developments likely to provoke an armed conflict in Korea.

During that period, when there was no foreign force in North Korea, foreign troops continued to occupy South Korea. As can be seen, everything was therefore ready for a new aggression against the Korean people, which it was intended to divide at all costs with the unconscionable complicity of our Organization.

On 25 June 1950, war broke out in Korea. Immediately, North Korea was accused of aggression against the South, on the basis of a report prepared by the United Nations Commission on Korea. On that same day, the United States brought the question to the Security Council. On 27 June, that is to say two days later, the Security Council — in the absence of the Soviet Union, a permanent member — adopted a resolution recommending to Member States that they bring to South Korea the aid necessary to repel aggression, while the United States placed its air and naval forces at the service of South Korea, before ordering the blockade of the North Korean coast three days later.

Not satisfied with that great deployment of United States forces, the Security Council moreover, on 7 July — still in the absence of the Soviet Union — called on all Member States to supply military forces and to place them at the disposal of a Unified Command under the authority of the United States. Sixteen countries responded to that appeal almost immediately by providing military contingents. Among those countries we find, apart from the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey and United Kingdom; to those we must add Denmark, India, Italy, Norway and Sweden, which supplied medical units. Finally, the South Korean armed forces were also placed under the authority of the Unified Command. It is fitting to recall here that it was the same resolution of the Security Council, dated 7 July, which authorized:

“...the unified command at its discretion to use the United Nations flag ... concurrently with the flags of the various nations participating.” (resolution 84 (1950))

Illegality had reached its peak and the noble principles of the Charter of our Organization were basely trampled underfoot. The United Nations flag, the symbol of peace and freedom among peoples, thus became the sorry symbol of conquest and even of provocation, since there was a wish to push the conquest to the very heart of China.

But once again the heroic Korean people triumphed over this new foreign aggression. The real aggressors, in our view, are those who came from abroad to disrupt peace in Korea, who sowed division, hatred and death among the Korean people. The 38th parallel, that wall of shame, is the symbol of arbitrariness, injustice and illegality.

Although the Armistice Agreement was signed over 20 years ago, foreign troops continue to occupy South Korea, equipped with a full range of the most sophisticated destructive weapons. It is estimated that they number more than 30,000 men.

Yet in the Joint Communiqué published on 4 July 1972 by the leaders of North and South Korea, it is clear that the Korean people wishes to live in peace, to be reconciled with itself and to restore by itself its unity shattered by foreign occupation. No one has the right to refuse this or to prevent it. The time has therefore come for our Organization to make up for so many injustices and illegalities committed against the Korean people. We may rejoice that the Organization had already embarked on the right course when it decided last year on the immediate dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The second step to be taken must be to order foreign troops which continue to be stationed in South Korea and to use the United Nations flag, unconditionally and immediately to leave the territory of Korea as desired by the Korean people, which wants no further foreign interference in its internal affairs. As we see it, it is thus that we must interpret the consensus which was adopted by our Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, and that is why my delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, which considers that it is necessary to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. That is an indispensable prior condition for an independent dialogue between the north and the south.

My country, which maintained diplomatic relations with North Korea and South Korea, has just broken its relations with the latter, on the initiative of our Head of State, President Gnassingbe Eyadema. We did so because in our opinion the Joint Communiqué published on 4 July 1972 by the leaders of the north and the south, on the principles which should lead to the reunification of the Korean nation, constituted a solemn commitment binding on the two parties. Since then the fact that South Korea obstinately accepts foreign troops on its soil is a serious distortion of the commitment entered into.

Nations aspire to freedom. People cherish it because free-

dom is the same for all. We must act in such a way that the injustices of the great do not unceasingly transform our world into one of terror, illegality and oppression, and we must act so that the freedom of peoples is never again betrayed or bartered against the selfish interests of anyone.





## **JOSEPH ALBERT BLAISE RABETAFIKA**

### **Madagascar**

When last year with a group of other countries, we requested the General Assembly to consider the question of creating conditions favourable to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, we were entitled to believe that the time had come to consider the Korean question in a more realistic and positive manner, taking principally into account the will to unite of the two parties, as expressed in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. Indeed, it could not be acceptable, in an era of détente and co-operation, for the United Nations still to be a prisoner of a situation in which it may have its part of responsibility but the continuation of which, particularly after 20 years of sterile confrontation, serves neither the cause of peace nor that of justice, nor the interests of the Koreans themselves.

We consider that, in taking the decision immediately to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Organization made a far from negligible contribution to the settlement of the Korean question, and we felt that the international community as a whole wished to put an end to a form of intervention of which the Organization had no right to be proud. The United Nations was about to cease, at least as regards Korea, being the instrument of American militarism and intervention and could make up for the errors of the past by stating, in accordance with the formula adopted, that "it has done those things which it ought not to have done, and has left undone those things which it ought to have done". One may endlessly discourse on the legality of the Security Council resolution 83 (1950) of 27 June 1950, on the basis of the relevant Articles of the Charter. Suffice it to say, nevertheless, that a doubtful legality, fraudulently acquired, cannot resist an objective and just reasoning, because it is free from obsolete prejudices and inspired above all by a desire to

promote better understanding among the parties directly concerned.

Thus there is nothing astonishing in the fact that our approach, which consisted in giving our Organization a more balanced and current sense of its responsibilities and of its commitments, led to a request for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. We are accustomed to being consistent with ourselves and to continuing our reasoning without having to resort to last-minute artifices. We are told that South Korea has 700,000 enlisted men, a patriotic reserve army of 2.5 million men, a modernization programme going back to 1957, and is at present the subject of a grant of \$ 1,500 million from the United States Government. This deployment of military forces which strengthens the defences of South Korea with American conventional and nuclear strike forces, can in no case be justified by the sole requirement of national defence. Furthermore, what weight can 38,000 men carry in a mass of 3.2 million men equipped and trained according to the most recent techniques? It is absurd to try to demonstrate that South Korean security is based on the presence of some tens of thousands of American troops, unless one wishes to insult the military valour of the South Koreans. The need for this presence is no longer evident to the United Nations, which wishes to put an end to its military commitment in Korea, whether by interposed American troops or otherwise. This is furthermore in accord with the spirit of the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 which provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops after the ceasefire.

To confuse the minds of those who wish to be confused, the United States Government claims that of the 38,000 men stationed in South Korea only some few hundred are under United Nations Command and that the remainder are there under the mutual defence pact which was signed in 1953 between the United States and South Korea. Obviously, such assertions are difficult to verify, all the more so since the so-called United Nations Command has never reported to the Security Council, although it claims to act under the authority of that body. It therefore seems that the way to the dissolution of the United Nations Command is clear, and that the American Government, in order to justify the presence of some 37,000 men in South Korea, is now taking refuge behind a pact which would enable it also to maintain the South Korean troops at a high level of strength and preparedness, to speed up the modernization of their training and equipment and to supply them with

prompt and effective assistance, according to the statements of the American President himself.

This situation calls forth two series of comments on our part. First of all, section 3 of the Armistice Agreement provides that there must be no strengthening of the forces. Whether we wish it or not, that Armistice Agreement is still in force, and the preparations being carried out in South Korea with the open support of the United States of America lead us to believe that, in the minds of certain South Koreans, this armistice must give way not to a peace agreement but to a resumption of hostilities. Under paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter, regarding recourse to the threat or use of force, the Organization cannot lend itself to such a manoeuvre, all the less so since we still have to determine from where the real violations of the armistice come, and what is to be understood by "self defence". The maintenance of American troops in South Korea is a violation of the 1953 Armistice Agreement. It encourages uncontrolled acts of provocation and therefore does not further the maintenance of peace and security in that region.

The second series of comments that my delegation wishes to make applies to the fundamentally opposed positions of the Americans and the North Koreans, still with regard to the maintenance of an American military presence in Korea. On 25 November 1974, at our 2029th meeting, we heard the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea reveal to us the existence, since 25 March 1974, of a proposal for a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement of 1953. That proposal, based on the generally recognized principles of non-invasion, non-provocation, non-aggression and non-interference, is essentially intended to place the Korean peninsula outside the arms race and outside confrontation. The North Korean proposal falls within the framework of a peaceful solution of the problem of reunification and contributes to the maintenance of peace and security in Asia. The American response seems to lie in the Presidential decision to support the militaristic claims of the South Koreans, who reject coexistence and détente and whose rigid attitude seeks only to strengthen a so-called power of dissuasion, thus transforming all of South Korea into a foreign base for permanent provocation, not only of North Korea, but of Asia as a whole. We do not believe that this should be the aim of a normal mutual-defence pact. Much less do we think that the United Nations can any longer remain the silent accomplice in an undertaking made not in a spirit of self-defence but in one of aggression. Despite the 1953 Armistice

Agreement, we have failed to give effect to collective security, conceived as it is solely in military terms; we cannot allow ourselves to be led to the same failure by sacrificing justice and co-operation — essential elements of peace — to the alleged security requirements of certain States, whether the United States of America or South Korea.

When we refer to the consensus adopted by the General Assembly at its 2181st meeting on 28 November 1973, we realize that the goal of the Organization for the Korean peninsula still remains the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and not the dialogue between North Korea and South Korea. The dialogue between the two parts of Korea is a matter that lies essentially within the competence of the two parties. It is they alone who have the right to decide on the procedures and the means to be employed so that that dialogue may result in a normalization of the situation on the basis of mutually acceptable guarantees and in accordance with the spirit of the principles enunciated in their own Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, namely, independence, reunification and national unity. So far as we know, the Organization did not endorse that Communiqué, it merely took note of it. Our role therefore consists in creating an atmosphere favourable to the continuation of the dialogue, and in doing nothing that could adversely affect the will of the two parties to engage freely in their dialogue. It would be, in our opinion, unsound to make of the dialogue a prior condition, which would be to the detriment of the Organization's primary concern, that is, military disengagement from the Korean peninsula and, therefore, withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed there.

The confusion, maintained in a burst of excessive generosity by the United States of America and other States when they proposed, in document A/9741, that attention be concentrated solely on the dialogue, is due to a deliberate distortion of the sense, the content and the scope of the consensus of 28 November 1973. We reject that confusion, which is represented as being realistic and constructive, and we maintain that the most important part of the consensus is the part concerning the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The dialogue may lead to that as long as the two parties are willing to concentrate on the idea of a democratic union transcending political and ideological differences. But to go on from there and say that that dialogue is the only acceptable course is to deny once again the responsibilities of the Organization, which would in such case be endorsing a form of dialogue imposed by force of arms,

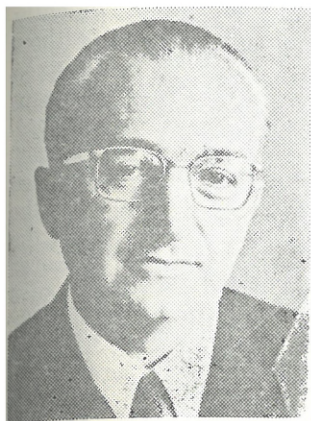
since the United States does not intend to demilitarize Korea. Once again also the Organization would be called upon to acquiesce in the wishes of a super-Power acting in its own interests and very little concerned with seeing Korea become itself once again. We may be told that the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea will inevitably lead to a resumption of hostilities in the peninsula. This is a problem that has not escaped us; we have recalled it in connexion with the maintenance of American troops, and our assumption is no more absurd than that of the other side. But it is not a question here of having one assumption prevail; rather it is a matter of foreseeing a situation by taking account of dangers which seem to us to be real.

This is why in our draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, we have provided that the Organization will trust the two parties directly concerned with regard to their quest for solutions to the problems resulting from the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea. The Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was clear on this matter. The Armistice Agreement of 1953 is both political and military in its scope. It must therefore be replaced by a peace treaty, of which we have already spoken, and reinforced by a peace agreement between the North and the South that would put an end to military confrontation, offer reciprocal guarantees, and have the effect of reducing the opposing forces and making of the Korean peninsula a region of co-operation, coexistence and peace. Such provisions are being discussed between the parties concerned and cannot be imposed, whatever may be our desire to intervene in order to accelerate the procedure. It goes without saying, however, that the Organization can only congratulate itself when such a treaty and agreement are concluded.

From what we have been saying on the maintenance of United States troops in South Korea and the consensus of 28 November 1973, the following conclusions are to be drawn. First, the Organization, which has been involved in the Korean question for a generation, must resume the initiative and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter act in such a way as to put an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea. Secondly, this foreign interference prevents the reunification and democratic reconstruction of Korea and is a provocative factor in the region which sooner or later will have to define its own rules on security and peace in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Thirdly, the Organization, consistent with the real spirit which prompted

the Allies in Cairo in 1943 and in Potsdam in 1945, and working in the same way for the independence and unification of Korea, should request the foreign troops still stationed in Korea to withdraw. Fourthly, the withdrawal of foreign troops constitutes a prior condition for the normalization of the situation in Korea, as follows from the consensus adopted on 28 November 1973, which reaffirms that the independent and peaceful reunification of the country must be achieved without outside interference.

In concluding, I should like to dispose of an argument advanced by the signatories of document A/9741, according to which only the Security Council can decide on the fate of the United Nations Command and even on the withdrawal of foreign troops. For more than 25 years, whenever the problem of the maintaining of United States troops in Korea has been raised we have accepted the competence of the General Assembly. There is no valid reason why the General Assembly should not be competent to decide on the withdrawal of these troops. To claim otherwise would be to show belated scruples, alleging a formalism the sincerity of which is suspect. If we are to be led into a procedural debate, which would be not without importance, we are prepared in turn to invoke Article 10 of the Charter on the powers of the General Assembly and even the notorious resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950, which must from time to time serve a just cause.



## JAKSA PETRIC

Yugoslavia

For more than a quarter of a century since its division, and for more than 20 years after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, Korea remains divided. The reaching of the first agreement on the opening of the process of unification by peaceful means and without outside interference was greeted with great satisfaction, because two parts of the same divided nation, burdened with antagonism and incited to conflict over many years, had succeeded in taking the first step along a long road.

The Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 contains three fundamental principles, namely, independence, peaceful unification and national unity. That Statement constitutes, in the opinion of my delegation, an important event in the efforts of the Korean people to achieve its unity. Further, it reflects the constant demand of the people of Korea, which is one country and one people, for their country to be unified and to achieve this aim independently, without outside interference.

All developments regarding Korea concern our Organization directly, as the direct responsibility of the United Nations for this problem is involved in several ways. The General Assembly has repeatedly set itself the task of promoting the unification of Korea and the establishment of peace and security in that region.

All this means that we have a direct political responsibility to search constantly for ways conducive to the solution of the question of the division of Korea, taking into account, of course, all the factors relevant to the further evolution of this problem. I think that there is a widespread feeling that these new conditions make it increasingly possible for our Organization to achieve important results in that direction.

In solving this problem our Organization must proceed, first of all, from the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. One of those basic principles is

the right of every country to solve its problems independently, in the spirit of the right of peoples to self-determination without any outside interference. In this case, this means that the question of the unification of Korea should be left to the Koreans themselves, all the more so as it is clear that that is in accordance with their own will and that they desire to take such a road.

At its twenty-eighth session the General Assembly decided to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. At the same time, the Assembly expressed the hope that the South and North Korea would continue the dialogue in the spirit of the Statement of 4 July 1972. This marked significant progress. Unfortunately, the dialogue was not continued, owing to the negative attitude of South Korea. This is mainly due to constant interference by foreign factors and forces in Korea. Closely linked with this problem is, of course, the presence of foreign troops on Korean soil. The presence of foreign troops, which cannot be justified in any conceivable way, actually poses a threat to peace in that part of the world, limits the independence of the people of Korea and has the effect of slowing down the process of its unification. Let me stress that the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers last year, adopted a special resolution on the solution of the question of Korea. The resolution on Korea adopted by the non-aligned countries called, *inter alia*, on the General Assembly of the United Nations to demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

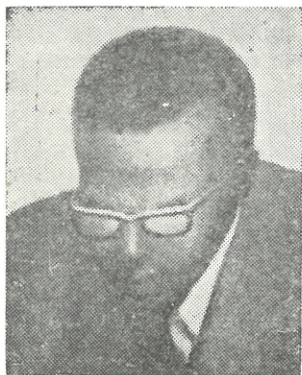
It is high time for our Organization to realize and recognize the true requirements of the present-day situation with respect to this problem and to contribute in the best possible way to the adoption of a responsible decision for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea so as to bring about a just solution of this question.

The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677, now sponsored jointly by 38 delegations, including my own, adequately and responsibly meets the requirements of this situation. Its implementation, namely, the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, would contribute to the creation of conditions for the unhampered unification of Korea and for the stabilization of peace in that region. My delegation considers that the United Nations is bound to promote the efforts aimed at attaining this objective. This is all the more important since past experience,



and especially more recent experience, has taught us abundantly that there is no wisdom in just letting things remain as they always were, frozen, in a state of "no change". All experience tells us that no opportunity should be missed for a positive contribution to be made to the elimination of some sources or elements of tension in an area. It has rightly been said that opportunities cannot be hoarded or preserved — they must be made use of as they arise. That is why it is neither constructive nor wise to insist on the forced maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea and to have them there under the United Nations flag, after some favourable developments have taken place, developments which not only permit but also require their removal as a necessary contribution to increased stability in the region and generally.

We have achieved some progress as far as détente is concerned, especially between some great Powers. That progress has created some room, but not at all sufficient, for the elimination of hotbeds of war and tension. It is for that reason — it is in order to make détente universal and, above all, it is because too many crises and military confrontations continue gravely to jeopardize general peace and security — that progress in Korea is mandatory. The adoption of the draft resolution of the 38 sponsors would constitute an important contribution to that end.



## BEAVOGUI

### Guinea

At this rather late stage of our proceedings I should like to discharge a pleasant duty, that of conveying the congratulations of my delegation to the Chairman upon his election to the chairmanship of the First Committee of this session. Our pleasure

at seeing him in the Chair conducting our proceedings with such authority and competence is particularly significant, because our two countries, Guinea and Argentina, maintain relations of friendship and co-operation. We assure him of our whole-hearted co-operation.

With respect to the subject under discussion, I should like to say that among the situations which are of concern to the international community and which therefore require an immediate solution, the question of Korea enjoys a high priority. Indeed, almost 30 years after the liberation of its country, the Korean people which, at the beginning of this century was one of the first victims of imperialism, is still divided and is denied recognition of its fundamental rights, and particularly the right to decide its own unity and destiny in all freedom and without foreign intervention.

In spite of the armistice of July 1953, South Korea is still occupied by foreign troops and the military demarcation line, which was traced at that time on a provisional basis, continues, because of this occupation, to divide Korean families and to prevent the inhabitants of the South from meeting their brothers in the North and even from communicating with them in any way. Recently some people were condemned in South Korea to long prison terms and even to death because they advocated the restoration of relations between the inhabitants of the South and the North and the peaceful and independent reunification of the country as well as the democratization of South Korean society. As much from a humanitarian standpoint as from a polit-

ical and legal one the prolongation of such a situation is intolerable.

At the twenty-eighth session, our Organization, under whose flag foreign troops continue to occupy South Korea, itself awoke to the gravity of this situation and its illegality under international law and the very principles of the Charter, and dissolved its Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, thus acknowledging that the legal bases of its intervention were non-existent. It also noted with satisfaction the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 of North and South Korea laying down the following three principles for reunification: (1) reunification should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside force or its interference; (2) reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; (3) great national unity should be promoted.

The General Assembly, in adopting at its twenty-eighth session the three principles of the above-mentioned Joint Communiqué, also expressed the hope that the North and the South would be invited to continue their dialogue, to broaden their exchanges of all kinds and expand their co-operation.

However, we are forced to admit that efforts at promoting dialogue are clearly encountering a major obstacle, that of the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, which is jeopardizing all the possibilities of contacts that might bring about a concerted solution. Owing to this climate of subversion fomented from outside, all the approaches which have been advocated have so far not been followed up.

We do not understand why the South Korean authorities should not so far have given a favourable response to the five-point proposal of North Korea calling for: the cessation of the increase of armed forces and the arms race; the evacuation of all foreign troops; the reduction of armed strength and armaments; the cessation of the introduction of arms from abroad; and the conclusion of a peace agreement.

It is regrettable that South Korea has turned a deaf ear to this proposal of the North which nevertheless is in keeping with its interests. Furthermore, in order to reach an agreement which would be a prelude to reunification, North Korea went quite a long way when it proposed the convening of, apart from the Co-ordination Committee of the North and the South which is at present in existence, a great national assembly or a political consultative conference of the North and the South in which representatives of the different political parties and social organizations and persons from different milieux in the North and the

South would participate, as one of the appropriate ways of bringing about the reunification of Korea.

It is regrettable that this proposal which does reflect the wish of the whole Korean people should not have met with any favourable response so far from the authorities of the South.

All the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been inspired by the constant desire to put an end to the tension prevailing between the south and the north and to instil the confidence necessary for the creation of favourable conditions for reunification.

It is from this standpoint and in keeping with the spirit of the three principles of the Joint Communiqué of July 1972 and the desire of the whole Korean people that 38 countries, including my own, have, in document A/C.1/L.677, called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

The presence of American troops in South Korea clearly creates and perpetuates tension throughout the Korean peninsula. Such tension, quite naturally, prevents both a genuine dialogue between the two parties and the reunification of the country. There is no doubt that in South Korea there are no United Nations troops as such but, rather, American troops illegally using the United Nations flag. Consequently, the duty of our Organization is to put an end to this quite abnormal situation which has lasted for too long. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations approve neither the sending of these troops nor their activities in South Korea.

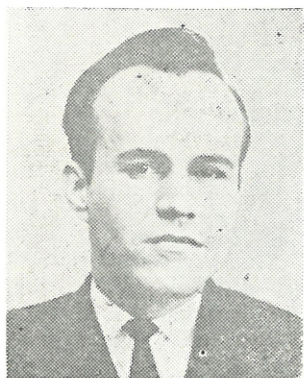
Those who object to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea claim, in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, that such a withdrawal would affect the Armistice Agreement. But we, for our part, cannot share this view because the Agreement itself, and particularly its article 60, provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. If the sponsors of the draft resolution I have just mentioned really believe, as they claim in the last preambular paragraph, "... that the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area", why do they not think it necessary to implement article 60 which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops? And how can they explain what was said by the President of the United States during his recent visit to Seoul, when he promised the South Korean authorities that the United States would increase its military and material assistance to South Korea? All this is quite con-

trary to the Armistice Agreement and to the spirit of reunification of the Korean nation. We thus see that the reference to this Agreement by the sponsors of the draft resolution is needed only so that they may, by distorting the letter and spirit of that instrument, continue to maintain the *status quo* in Korea — in other words, to prolong the presence of United States troops in the South. And this is precisely the basis of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 which goes so far as to envisage consideration of the Armistice Agreement by the Security Council, in the secret hope of having the United Nations endorse, if not consecrate the foreign occupation of Korea, an occupation already condemned by all peace and justice-loving countries in the world.

We, for our part, think that this document would benefit from not being put to the vote because, in spite of the far from sincere tribute that it pays to the North-South Joint Communiqué its spirit is contrary to the rights and aspirations of the Korean people as a whole and to the achievement of the national unity of Korea. Furthermore, the armed forces whose presence in South Korea it is sought to prolong for ever, do not report to the United Nations or to the Security Council, which in principle they should come under. Their very presence in South Korea is contrary to the principles and interests of the United Nations whose flag they are illegally using. Therefore, in our view nothing can possibly justify the reference to the Security Council by those who are opposed to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

To sum up, we must state once again that two measures alone are likely to bring peace and stability to Korea, namely the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea by means of negotiations between the two parties. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, of which my country is a sponsor, is conceived in this spirit and deserves the support of all those who side with the Korean people in their just cause.

On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express the sincere hope that the Korean people will achieve its aim to be united by its own efforts. It is the duty and obligation of the United Nations to help the Korean people to achieve that aim by calling, *inter alia*, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.



## RICARDO ALARCON DE QUESADA

Cuba

*Speech Made on December 3*

The item which our Committee is now discussing is of the utmost urgency and importance. For a long time, in this same conference room, this Committee has considered various aspects related to the situation in Korea, and that lengthy debate has served to demonstrate the profound illegality which has in the past marked United Nations action in regard to the Korean people.

I need not dwell on the background of this subject to demonstrate that, from its very origins, an attempt was made to use our Organization in flagrant violation of its Charter, and of the Purposes and Principles on which it is based, by resorting to interference and intrusion in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

Furthermore, this same debate was for many years marked by the same spirit of injustice and arbitrariness, since it was only last year that the Committee had an opportunity to consider this question with the participation of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea who, for many years, were prevented from being present during the discussion of an item so intimately connected with that Government, an item which directly affects the fate of the Korean nation.

Last Monday we listened to the important statement made by Mr. Li Jong Mok, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in which he fully stated his Government's position, one which reflects the legitimate interests of all the Korean people and offers the only possible means of achieving the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. My delegation endorses the statement made here by the lawful representatives of the Korean people.

And now I should like to invite the Committee to give some thought to the question of the presence of foreign troops in

South Korea and the illegal use by those troops of the emblems and symbols of the United Nations. To this end my delegation will limit itself exclusively to the use of South Korean and American sources which clearly reveal the true nature of these foreign troops, what their exact role is against the Korean people, and at the same time prompt us to take decisive and urgent measures so that this Organization may make sure that that presence is not used for imperialist, interventionist purposes, which are the real objectives of the presence of those armed contingents occupying the southern part of Korea.

Those who still attempt to use our Organization as a vehicle for North American interference in Korea present the situation in that region as though American troops stationed south of the 38th parallel were serving the cause of peace and preventing the repetition of an armed conflict in that region, while at the same time they try to conceal in this Committee their arbitrary and illegal use of the United Nations.

I therefore wish to submit to this Committee some items of information and comments, all of which are derived from American and South Korean sources, just as they were published by them, so that the Committee will be in a better position to appropriate decisions when the proper time comes. I have before me several copies of a South Korean propaganda publication, *Korea Newsreview*, published by the Public Relations Association of Korea, which obviously plays the role of promoting the positions and interests of the North American authorities and of the colonial régime in South Korea. In the issue dated 5 October 1974, this publication refers to a meeting that was held in Honolulu at the end of the month of September this year with the participation of military chiefs of the United States, officers of the Department of Defense of that country, and some of the military chiefs of the puppet régime of the South. It is interesting to draw the attention of the Committee to some of the subjects that were considered at that meeting in Hawaii.

According to this publication, among the topics considered at that meeting were possible changes that would affect the so-called United Nations Command in Korea, involving the North American forces stationed in that country, some of which discharge functions outside Korea and cover the entire Far East region; and yet my delegation has so far heard no reference to this information in the debate we are now having. This publication states, for example, the following:

“The Pentagon idea seems to be in close connex-

ion with the Congressional proposal that the US Army headquarters and support units in Korea be reduced by one third, and that the Headquarters of the UN Command, US Forces in Korea and the Eighth US Army be integrated into one." (*Korea Newsreview*, p. 7)

Obviously those who are trying to continue to use the name of the United Nations for their illegal activities in Korea should furnish some information to this Committee on these plans, which obviously involve the Pentagon and some Congressional bodies and include the possibility of integrating into a single unit the United Nations Command, the command of United States forces in South Korea and the Eighth Army of the United States, which, as is known, is an armed contingent of that country that is carrying out an important role in the imperialist policy of the United States in the Far East.

This paragraph, in our opinion, illustrates the scandalous use of this Organization by the Washington Government and its defiance of the opinions of States Members which leads it to debate publicly proposals that may directly affect even the way in which it now uses the emblems and symbols of the United Nations without any organ of the United Nations having at any time considered any such proposal.

In another part of this report we are also told that the United States Government has promised the South Korean authorities that it will not reduce the present level of United States troops in the southern portion of Korea and will continue with what it calls a plan for the modernization of South Korean troops.

Elsewhere in this article it states:

"Secretary Clements reaffirmed that the Government of the United States has no plan to reduce the present level of US Armed Forces in the Republic of Korea." (*Ibid.*)

It is curious that on turning the page, we find an article in this same publication which praises the armed forces of the South Korean régime for their role in the Far East, and that that same article constitutes a categorical denial to those who assert that there is a need to maintain foreign troops in the southern part of Korea to prevent alleged aggression from the north.

Let us see what that article states in its first paragraph, with regard to the huge army in South Korea organized by the United States. It is now referring to the troops of the so-called



Republic of Korea and not to the foreign troops stationed there.  
I quote:

“The ROK Armed Forces are the world’s fourth largest standing army, next only to those of the United States, the Soviet Union and communist China.”

That is to say, that the fourth largest army in the world, coming directly after the armies of the United States, the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China, requires, according to this article, the additional presence of foreign troops to protect and assist it against the northern part of the same nation, although that part contains the lesser part of the population and has fewer armed forces for its defence than those stationed in the south.

Towards the end of the article, as though not to allow us to forget that there is no justification for the puppet régime of South Korea to need United Nations support, there is shameless reference to the role played by the South Korean Army in the war of aggression against the Viet-Nameese people. Again I quote:

“Combat achievements of the Korean Army in the Viet-Nam war were really brilliant. In more than 570,000 large and small operations, the ROK Expeditionary Forces killed more than 40,000 enemy troops and captured more than 2,900 enemy weapons, according to the Army.”

That is to say that the régime established by the United States in South Korea not only is armed to the teeth to repress its own people and to maintain the artificial division of Korea, but, furthermore, is used as a collaborating agent of North American imperialism in wars of aggression outside the Korean peninsula, where, according to its own words, it can send expeditionary forces which do brilliant work, suppressing the freedom of other peoples.

But I have other issues of the same publication — that of 19 October, for example, a date very close to that of the beginning of our discussion on foreign troops in South Korea, in which once again reference is made to the commitments that the United States is fulfilling with the co-operation of the South Korean régime, with regard to the maintenance of aggressive troops in South Korea in scandalous mockery of the will of the States Members of the United Nations. Once again in that publication it is Mr. William Clements who is quoted — and may I be allowed to recall in passing that Mr. Clements is the Deputy Secretary of Defense of the United States of America. Mr. Clements is supposed to have mentioned, according to this publication, some of the matters at present being considered

and discussed in United States Government circles which are not mentioned in our debate but which yet have a direct relationship with the decisions which this Committee has to adopt.

Apparently, according to this North American information, not only are United States troops in Korea illegally using the emblem of the United Nations but also in this strange mixture of North American commands and United Nations commands there are important contingents, identified as belonging to the North American military structure, which are playing an active role not only in South Korea but also in the so-called demilitarized zone. It would seem that in the North American Congress there is now some discussion as to the desirability — perhaps for the sake of discretion and so as not to reveal too much of the illegitimate use by North American troops of the United Nations emblem — of making some changes in the emplacement of those troops, although in this they cannot count on the support of the Pentagon. I quote again from the same publication, so that members of the Committee may have the appropriate information:

“Clements indicated disagreement with an idea advocated by Congress for moving the US Army’s Second Division in Korea away from the demilitarized zone and thus from possible combat with North Korea. He said it would be costly to do so. ‘I am not sure Congress would want to spend the money’, Clements said.”

That is to say that in Congress some persons are apparently worried about the possibility that, being so close to the territory of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, within the demilitarized zone or very close to it, the Second Division of the United States Army might find itself involved in possible armed confrontations, should they occur again, in Korea. Whether the Second Division belongs to the United Nations Command or whether it is part of the United States-South Korean pact, nobody knows, or will ever know, because, quite obviously, mystery shrouds the manner in which the Pentagon uses or does not use the attributes of our Organization in the region. But it is desirable that delegations should be aware that since the use or non-use of United Nations Command in Korea depends entirely on the arbitrary decision of the Pentagon, at any moment more than a hundred member States who have no responsibility whatsoever for North American policy in Korea, who have nothing to do with the aggression against that people, might find themselves unwillingly and unintentionally involved in a conflict provoked by the Second Division of the United States Army,

which is there in the demilitarized zone without having asked permission of anybody and which is still arbitrarily using United Nations symbols.

I have more copies of this publication, but I am aware that the hour is late and that it is not necessary to repeat the references which, in a completely brazen way, North American authorities allow themselves to make when they travel in the Far East or in the Pacific region as to the manner in which they mock this Organization and intend to continue to use it to further their interventionist aims in South Korea.

The decisions illegally taken by the United Nations in 1950, which are at the very root of the problem we are now considering, were adopted at a time when most of the Members of our Organization could not participate in its decisions nor play any role in them, since that was the era when colonialism still lorded it over a large part of the planet and United States imperialism imposed its will and whims within this Organization.

Furthermore, the agreements adopted by the Security Council which are now mentioned in connexion with the question of Korea, were completely illegal, since those decisions were taken in the absence of the delegation of the Soviet Union, a permanent member of that body, and at a time when the representation of China — also a permanent member of the Security Council — was unlawfully usurped by the Taiwan régime.

The United Nations has changed, thanks to the progress made in the process of decolonization. For years the United Nations was compelled to play an unworthy role in connexion with Korea — a role which was not in keeping with the interests of the vast majority of its Members, with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, and with the efforts being made to establish peaceful and normal international relations among all States.

That is why my delegation trusts that the vast majority of the members of this Committee will at last take the decisions called for by the situation in Korea and decide in favour of the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

On 23 June 1973 Comrade Kim Il Sung, supreme leader of the Korean people, presented a five-point proposal conducive to a solution of the Korean question consistent with the legitimate interests and desires of its population. Those proposals were developed during the present debate by the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They reflect the will for independence, national dignity and patriotism of the Korean people. In the face of this, the only alternative offered

to the Assembly is to perpetuate the illegal use of our Organization so as to continue the artificial division of Korea, to allow United States imperialism to continue its colonial exploitation of the South and maintain a régime which uses the wealth of its plentiful military resources and the no less plentiful military assistance it receives from the United States — amounting to over \$ 1,500 million according to the latest agreement signed by the Pentagon — merely to repress the South Korean people, to quash its desire for reunification and independence, and to keep it subservient to Yankee domination.

Before I conclude — I am tempted to — I should like to make a final reference to this South Korean propaganda publication. Here is an interview with a gentleman who had just been appointed to be what they call “Minister for the Unification of Korea”. This gentleman, whose role in the Government of the south is no doubt to promote national unification, clearly indicates the real attitude of the régime which he represents in relation to the unification of his country in the 12 October 1974 issue of *Korea Newsreview*. In one part of the interview he said:

“The armistice system should never be discarded from the viewpoint of keeping intact the Demilitarized Zone and the demarcation line.”

That is to say, for the South Korean authorities, the demilitarized zone occupied by the Second Division of the United States Army in the southern part and the demarcation line imposed on the Korean people — which arbitrarily separates them into two parts — are to continue intact, must be kept; which means, maintaining the division of Korea.

But later on in the interview when he was asked about the possibilities for the two régimes which exist north and south of the 38th Parallel in some way to advance the process of unification, the so-called Minister for the Unification of Korea replied as follows:

“It may be impossible to conceive the consolidation between two heterogeneous systems. The present Communist system of the Pyongyang régime should be changed to some degree. We cannot but wait for such a change unless we are thinking about an armed method for the unification.”

That is to say, those who are allegedly prepared to have a dialogue with the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea to promote unification clearly tell us that, above all, there would have to be a change in the present régime in the north to make possible such unification.

My delegation would like to end by expressing its confidence that independent States which desire to rescue and fully implement the principles of the Charter with relation to Korea will act decisively at this session to put an end to the situation imposed by United States imperialism for so many years, which has transformed this Organization — against the will of the majority of its Members — into an instrument in the service of its interventionist policy.

Times have changed and will continue to change in favour of our peoples, and we feel sure that the pressures and manoeuvres which for decades have taken place within this conference room in an attempt to prevent this Committee from adopting proper decisions, cannot be engaged in successfully forever, and that the Committee is reaching the stage, which we hope will be in a few days time, when it will categorically decide in favour of putting an end to the present situation in South Korea, of ensuring the withdrawal of foreign troops and of safeguarding the principles of the Charter.

#### *Speech Made on December 9*

My delegation would like to associate itself with the explanation given by the representative of Algeria at the beginning of the meeting concerning the situation before the Committee now. We understand that the Committee did indeed decide to examine together the two items requested separately by two distinct groups of countries. It complied with that agreement and put it into effect last Friday. Now the Committee must vote and of course, it cannot vote simultaneously on two draft resolutions. Therefore, it must reach a decision with regard to one and then turn to the second.

Besides the explanations provided by Ambassador Rahal, we would like to put forward other arguments which my delegation feels would require the Committee to vote first on the draft resolution dealing with subitem (a) and then, consequently, turn to subitem (b). We feel that this order — alphabetical order which, far from being invented by us is a logical outcome of the situation — is justifiable, the more so if we take into account the fact that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 is designed to define the view of the General Assembly, or in this case the First Committee, with regard to the question of Korea in its present phase, whereas draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1 in essence suggests a definite procedure to

be followed and would transfer the application of that procedure to a different body of the United Nations.

The most fundamental logic requires that before we decide whether we should suggest that the Security Council take any given action with regard to the situation in Korea, the General Assembly should first pronounce itself and state its point of view in this regard. Not long ago the General Assembly was confronted by a similar situation with regard to South Africa and adopted the very procedure which I am referring to now. It first defined its own opinion and then requested the Security Council to decide what its views were.

We also have had other quite recent examples in this Committee itself when we debated concurrently different items which were interconnected, and then proceeded to vote on different draft resolutions without necessarily following the order implied by the symbol of each document. I am referring to some of the matters dealing with disarmament. Furthermore, rule 131 of the rules of procedure, which I have before me, speaks of the order in which proposals have been submitted. It does not specifically refer to the numerical order, to the formal numbering that appears at the top of the page of a draft resolution, but, rather, to the order in which the proposals have been submitted, that is, to something more fundamental as we see it.

In fact, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, although bearing a somewhat higher number than the one in document A/C.1/L.676, was submitted in its present form on 7 October; in other words, somewhat more than two months ago. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, while bearing a lower number, in its present revised form was submitted to this Committee on 4 December, in other words barely five days ago, and the Committee can clearly recall the statement made by the representative of Liberia and his request that this new document be distributed, as was in fact done five days ago.

For these reasons my delegation believes that the simplest and most logical way of approaching this stage of our examination of the question of Korea — that is, the vote — is first to reach a decision on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, which refers to subitem (a) of the item under consideration and which also serves to define the view of the Assembly, before we turn to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1, which is connected with subitem (b) of this item and moreover refers to the procedure which the Assembly would suggest once it had defined its criteria.

Moreover, we believe that rule 131 clearly stipulates that

the Committee can reach a decision with regard to the order in which draft resolutions will be voted upon, and I should like to request formally that the Committee reach a decision in that respect and that priority be given to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677.

### *Speech Made on December 9*

My delegation would like to explain its negative vote with regard to document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1. We shall do so briefly, because we will surprise no one when we say that we totally reject that document.

However, we should like to draw the attention of the members of the Committee to some basic inconsistencies to be found in that text and also some that relate to the way in which the First Committee has dealt with the question of Korea for more than two decades.

They are the principal reasons, among others, for our negative vote with regard to that document.

I should also like to draw the attention of representatives to the texts which year after year, except during this session, have been adopted by this body of the General Assembly with regard to Korea on the basis of proposals submitted by the United States delegation, in company, almost always, with many of the countries that are sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 today.

My delegation has brought a good number of volumes, like this one I am holding, which record the resolutions adopted at each session by the Assembly. I will not read all these volumes because it is unnecessary, since, year after year, in the part dealing with Korea, in each resolution adopted by this Committee under United States pressure a paragraph is included, that is exactly the same every year and that is in categorical opposition to operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution which has been submitted to the Committee in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1.

So I have taken a volume at random, one that contains the resolutions which were adopted at the twenty-fifth session in order to read operative paragraph 6 of resolution 2668 (XXV) which, I repeat, is exactly the same as the paragraph that appears in each and every resolution adopted by this Committee on the Question of Korea, under North American influence.

Let us see what this operative paragraph 6 states; I shall read it in its entirety:

"6. Notes that the United Nations forces which were sent to Korea in accordance with United Nations resolutions have in greater part already been withdrawn, that the sole objective of the United Nations forces at present in Korea is to preserve the peace and security of the area, and that the Governments concerned are prepared to withdraw their remaining forces from Korea whenever such action is requested by the Republic of Korea or whenever the conditions for a lasting settlement formulated by the General Assembly have been fulfilled."

I repeat the last sentence:

"... or whenever the conditions for a lasting settlement formulated by the General Assembly have been fulfilled."

In no place in that paragraph, and in no place in any other paragraph of that resolution, nor in any of the others which year after year the United States has managed to have adopted in this Committee, is reference made to the Security Council, nor has it been said that the Security Council should examine the question of the withdrawal of the troops stationed in South Korea. On the contrary, year after year it is asserted that this is a matter for a decision of the General Assembly and note is taken too of the fact that several countries have withdrawn their forces without this action having been taken in response to a decision of the Security Council or of the General Assembly, but merely by a decision of those Member States.

So we must now ask why, in this year 1974, the United States and those accompanying it as sponsors of this document, prefer to attempt to transfer this matter to the Security Council.

My delegation is tempted to say that the only aim of such a procedure is to impose upon this Assembly the tyranny of the minority, in this case, the tyranny of the minority of one. In the Security Council, the United States can exercise its veto to prevent a solution being reached which, year after year, for two decades, it has itself asserted falls within the purview of the General Assembly.

For this reason, my delegation believes that, to be consistent with ourselves, and in particular for the sponsors who year after year have asserted the authority of the General Assembly in this connexion to be consistent with themselves, the only logical thing to do would be categorically to reject the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1.

Obviously, the only motive explaining why there has been a change this year in the line which had been followed for two decades is the fear of the growing power within the Assembly



of the countries which are genuinely concerned about promoting the cause of national independence, the equality of States, and true peace, and which oppose the presence of foreign troops in South Korea.

The formulation in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1 can be interpreted in no other way than in connexion with the recent scandal in the General Assembly, which reflects the preoccupation of the imperialist States which, faced with the growing progressive tendencies within our Assembly, must resort to such manoeuvres as those clearly reflected in the draft resolution (A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1), in their continued violation of the rights of the Korean people, in their continued military occupation of Korean territory, and in preventing the Assembly from categorically expressing its view.

Besides that, however, this draft resolution continues to sow an element of fundamental confusion which has not yet been clarified despite the repeated demands of various delegations during the debate on Korea. It makes continued reference to a "United Nations Command" which the United Nations ignores, and about which the Organization, through the Secretariat, has been unable to furnish us with information, even on its composition and leadership. That confusing term is still used, and there is a continued refusal to give the Committee — at least, we have received none so far — the basic explanations which we should all demand if we truly wish to take a vote on this document in full knowledge of the facts.

Thus this text is presented to the Committee without our knowing yet what the Second Division of the United States Army is doing in the demilitarized zone — without our knowing yet what the final aim was of the United States plan to integrate into one single command the United States Eighth Army and the so-called "United Nations Command"; and, indeed, without our knowing yet the extent to which the United Nations flag is being illegally used by the United States armies stationed in South Korea.

In other words, the Committee is being invited to vote in such a way as not to solve the problem and to be unable to make its views prevail with regard to the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. What is worse, and more serious, the text would introduce a factor which would close the door to the possibility of any future action by the Assembly.

The sponsors have nevertheless had no hesitation in coming before us and contradicting the policy which they themselves had been following for 20 years. Nor have they had the slightest

hesitation to acknowledge before us the essential weakness of their position and their fear that the Assembly might categorically decide upon the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

In the face of such a gigantic manoeuvre, we believe that the only reaction of this Committee can be the categorical rejection of this document, the only possible effect of which, if adopted, would be to maintain the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, perpetuate the illegal use of the United Nations flag by the United States, and prevent the Assembly from acting independently and reaching its own decision.



## ION DATCU

### Romania

Recent developments on the international scene confirm the existence of real possibilities for the peaceful settlement of the most complex problems, situations directly affecting peace and the well-being of peoples. The Romanian delegation is convinced that the question being considered by the First Committee under this item of the agenda can also be solved in the same spirit, in accordance with the requirements of peace and understanding among peoples.

The group of countries which initiated this debate, including Romania, would like to see the United Nations contributing to the elimination of tension in the Korean peninsula, thus making its contribution to the creation of favourable conditions for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea without any outside interference.

Indeed, this is precisely the essence of the problem under discussion here. There is no denying that events have proved that achievement of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea is of vital interest, not only to the Korean people as a whole, but also for the maintenance of peace and security in Asia and in the world. That is why the United Nations must tackle and solve this problem in a spirit of responsibility towards the inalienable rights of the Korean people, consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, throughout the 25 years of its existence, has always striven for the realization of the legitimate ideal and aspiration of the entire Korean people for peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of their country. This constant concern of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been expressed in a number of proposals and initiatives that led to the adoption, on 4 July 1972, of the well-known Joint Communiqué of the North

and the South, a document which enshrines the principles of independence, peaceful reunification and national unity.

Within this context, I should also like to stress the special importance of the five-point programme designed to bring about reunification, submitted by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 23 June 1973.

These important political initiatives retain all their validity today. The Joint Communiqué and the principles established between the North and the South throw into high relief once again the superiority and the effectiveness of direct political negotiation for the purpose of resolving controversial political issues, however complex these may be.

The Korean people has given the whole world eloquent proof of its determination to move forward by initiating political and practical measures aimed at implementing the supreme ideal, which is national reunification and the elimination of a hotbed of tension. This clear-cut position was repeated here in the important statement made by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Li Jong Mok, in our Committee on 25 November last. The Romanian delegation is firmly convinced that the United Nations should, in its turn and pursuant to its moral and political obligations under the United Nations Charter, strive to make its own positive contribution to the development of that process.

Romania consistently advocates respect for the right of the Korean people to decide its own destiny, and to that end we give our support to the tireless efforts of the Korean people to transcend the artificial division of their country so that they may achieve their objective of national unity; all this on the basis of the need to exclude from their national life the imperialist policies of force, *diktat* and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

In the report submitted a few days ago to the 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party, the Secretary of the Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, stated emphatically:

"We welcome the initiative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with regard to the peaceful reunification of North and South Korea. We consider it to be an initiative entirely in keeping with the interests of the Korean people and with the cause of peace in that part of the world. We shall continue, in the future, to support the struggle for the peaceful reunification of Korea, which will open the way for the free and independent development of the entire country."

On the basis of this position of principle, Romania supports, within the United Nations also, all efforts aimed at the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Over the years, and in agreement with other States, Romania has always favoured the idea of the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the aegis of the United Nations, and likewise the elimination of UNCURK. The decision taken last year to dissolve that Commission was a genuine and positive contribution on the part of our Organization to the elimination of the barriers to the reunification of Korea. That step also showed us the course we should pursue if we want to enhance the prestige of our Organization. The next step can only be the adoption of a decision on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, sponsored by 38 countries, of which Romania is one, gives expression to the wish of Members of our Organization to do away with the last vestiges of illegal involvement on the part of the United Nations in Korea.

In our present debate, as in the past, claims have been made that withdrawal of the so-called United Nations Force from South Korea without any guarantee as to the application of the Armistice Agreement would create the danger of a new war. The truth is that it is not the foreign troops in South Korea that guarantee peace in Korea, but rather the sincere efforts for peace made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the will of the entire Korean people. The presence of foreign troops on the territories of other States, contrary to the will of the peoples concerned, is far from being a factor that contributes to peace and understanding; quite the contrary. International life has taught us on so many occasions that the presence of foreign troops on the territories of other States is in fact something which makes for tension and has an adverse effect on the international climate.

In the view of the Romanian Government, the surest guarantee for the maintenance of peace in Korea is respect for the commitment undertaken in the Joint Communiqué issued by North Korea and South Korea on 4 July 1972, under which the reunification of the country would be brought about without recourse to force and without any interference from outside or the use of armed force by either of the parties against the other.

Furthermore, the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag are not and have never really been United Nations troops. Similarly, it is a well-known fact

that the resolutions under which foreign troops were placed in South Korea under the United Nations flag did not and cannot represent the will of our Organization. Those resolutions were adopted in most flagrant violation of provisions of the Charter. Consequently, the draft resolution on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations does not seek the revocation of any valid decision adopted by this Organization, because the decision involved was invalid from the very beginning. That is why we share the view expressed by many speakers who have shown that the General Assembly, the plenary body of the United Nations, is competent to take a decision in this matter, since it concerns a *de facto* situation in which the name and the prestige of the United Nations are being abused. I would like to take this opportunity to stress, as other delegations have done, the fact that the request for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea is entirely in keeping with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement whereby all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea.

All these arguments militate in favour of the adoption of the draft resolution sponsored by 38 countries. We consider it high time that the name of our Organization, which has been and is still being used to justify certain unilateral acts on the part of a limited number of States, should no longer be invoked in this context. It is high time to put an end once and for all to practices contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter.

The efforts of many States, including Romania, to contribute within the framework of our Organization to certain measures which could contribute to the reunification of Korea have led to the request for the inclusion in the agenda of the item on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. According to the decision of the General Committee of the General Assembly, as we know, this proposal is being debated simultaneously with another proposal entitled "Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula".

The sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L. 676 are in fact proposing as a last resort, that we should endorse the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea, something which is totally unacceptable to us. We hope that the United Nations will not take this course.

By adopting the proposals presented by the sponsors of the

draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 the United Nations will be giving concrete evidence of its capacity to act in the light of present realities, in accordance with the legitimate rights and fundamental interests of the Korean people. The adoption of this decision would be an act of justice and equity towards the Korean people, and a further proof of our positive contribution to the process of building a united, peaceful and democratic Korea.



## PETER FLORIN

### German Democratic Republic

The delegation of the German Democratic Republic followed with great attention the statement of the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Li Jong Mok. He gave a very impressive account of the situation on the Korean peninsula and explained the constructive policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which is designed to strengthen peace and security. The statement of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea should be viewed as being of tremendous assistance in our discussion of the Korean question. In it we heard the voice of the Korean people. The German Democratic Republic highly appreciates the efforts of the fraternal Democratic People's Republic of Korea to strengthen peace and security and supports its just demands and proposals.

Further progress has been achieved in the process of international détente. This is demonstrated by, among other things, the pattern of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Like other States of the socialist community, the German Democratic Republic, in its foreign policy is pursuing that goal in close co-operation with all States which display readiness to achieve mutual understanding and to intensify and broaden the process of international détente. My delegation wholeheartedly shares the view expressed in the course of this session by a majority of States on the need to eliminate all hotbeds of crisis which threaten peace. The Korean peninsula has for more than two decades been one of those hotbeds of crisis, whence as a consequence of the imperialist policy of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there has constantly been a threat posed to peace in Asia and throughout the world. In the interests of peace and in a desire to help the Korean people, the German Democratic Republic, even at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United



Nations, resolutely supported the just demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and we have noted with satisfaction that on the whole the prevailing view has been that we must try to prevent any intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people, particularly because such interference, far from helping to solve what is called the Korean question, would in fact do a great deal to prevent its solution.

As a result of discussion at the last session of the General Assembly, the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was finally dissolved. That was progress.

The resolution adopted by consensus can, however, be viewed as an important step, but only as a first step. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic at that time opposed the abuse of the United Nations flag by foreign troops stationed in South Korea. Putting an end to the abuse of the United Nations flag by foreign troops stationed in South Korea would be a logical consequence of the decision to dissolve the United Nations Commission. Even last year attention was drawn to the fact that in the interests of peace and security in Asia and also of ensuring the rights of the Korean people to self-determination it was necessary to withdraw foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag. The course of events after the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly has confirmed that this position was correct. As it has turned out — and it could not have been otherwise — at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly this same demand has once again been the focus of the discussion of the question of Korea. At this session the General Assembly should finally take a decision calling for the withdrawal of the troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and for the dissolution of the United Nations Command.

The withdrawal of foreign troops stationed under the United Nations flag in South Korea is an urgent imperative of our time. The presence of those troops is an anachronism and constitutes a permanent intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

If we look realistically at the situation we shall see that it is not a question of United Nations troops, but of United States troops. One can in fact speak of the military occupation of South Korea by the United States under the flag of the United Nations. Moreover, there have been avowed intentions to perpetuate that occupation.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is also a

violation of the Armistice Agreement, which provided for the withdrawal of those troops after the cessation of hostilities. The assertion of the representatives of the South Korean régime that the presence of foreign troops is necessary in order to prevent the danger of war, which they allege comes from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, is unfounded. I would venture to point to the relevant statements of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in this Committee.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made a number of constructive proposals for a peaceful settlement — the reduction of troops and a limitation of armaments — proposals which were all rejected by South Korea. Furthermore, I would remind members that for more than 16 years now no foreign troops have been stationed in the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

If it has been possible up to this point to preserve peace in the Korean peninsula, it is only thanks to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which pursues a policy of peace, security and mutual understanding, and it certainly has nothing to do with the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. Quite the contrary, the fact that United States troops are present in South Korea under the United Nations flag has always been a source of dangerous tension between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. The presence of those troops is an incentive to the adventurous elements in the South Korean régime to undertake acts of provocation and other actions which are far from promoting the preservation of peace. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea hinders the dialogue between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. The presence of those troops is one of the reasons why that dialogue has so far not yielded any positive results, as had been hoped for at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

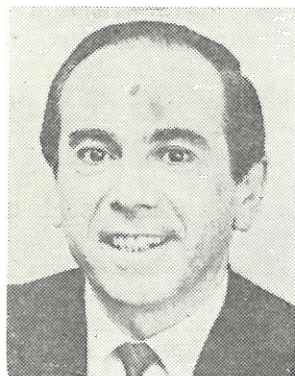
Furthermore, the presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag is being abused in order to preserve the régime of the dictator Park Chung Hee, in spite of growing opposition on the part of the population of South Korea. The task of the United Nations cannot simply be said to be that of maintaining a régime whose fascist character is well known. In accordance with the United Nations Charter, one of the noblest tasks of the United Nations should be to ensure the right of peoples to self-determination and to prevent foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other States.

My delegation supports the view of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that reunification is the internal business of

Korea, which should be settled peacefully and without external intervention. That position is entirely in keeping with the resolution adopted last year calling upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea to continue their dialogue. Surely this is one more reason for the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session to adopt a decision to halt the abuse of the United Nations flag by United States troops stationed in South Korea and to withdraw those troops.

The German Democratic Republic would welcome such a step as a constructive contribution on the part of the United Nations towards a solution of the Korean problem. That decision would also be in keeping with the aspirations of the Korean people for the reunification of the country without foreign intervention. The General Assembly would thus at its twenty-ninth session be helping the Korean people independently to solve its own national problem and would be making the contribution expected of the United Nations in eliminating a hotbed of crisis in Asia as well as assisting and strengthening the process of international détente. The armistice in Korea must finally be turned into a lasting peace.

In conclusion, I would like once again to stress that the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag is now the key to the elimination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea and to the strengthening of peace in the Korean peninsula. My delegation is firmly convinced that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, of which the German Democratic Republic is a sponsor, is an appropriate basis for a solution to this question in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.



## RAKO NACO

### Albania

The present debate in the First Committee on the question of Korea is of particular importance because it concerns the destiny of a people which, for several decades, is continuing to live divided within its country. This question has been considered

for several successive years at various sessions of the General Assembly, but it has been impossible to find a solution to it because of the hostile policy pursued by the United States of America towards the Korean people.

During the last session of the General Assembly and particularly after the dissolution of the unfortunately notorious United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which was merely a tool in the hands of the United States of America, helping it to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people, some had the impression that certain steps would be taken with regard to the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. But experience has proven that the United States of America is not renouncing its policy of brutal interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and that the last thing it wants is to find a way to reunify Korea into a single and unique sovereign State to be found. It engages in various manoeuvres designed not to ease the situation but, on the contrary, to deepen the division of Korea into two parts and to make that division permanent. Such attempts are being made even at this session of the General Assembly. Inclusion of the United States proposal in the agenda of the Assembly, as formulated in item 104 (b) of the agenda, is nothing other than an attempt to distract the attention of Member States from the essence of the problem specified in item 104 (a) of the agenda under the title of "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". The delegation of Albania believes that this item is one of the key factors in solving the Korean problem. Therefore,

Member States seriously interested in contributing to the just solution of the problem, to the guarantee of the unity of the Korean nation, and to the establishment of genuine peace in the Korean peninsula, must concentrate their attention on this point.

With regard to the United States item, we believe that it is designed to draw out the problem, to legalize the continued occupation of South Korea by the United States of America and to perpetuate the division of Korea into two States. The delegation of Albania rejects these well-known tactics of the United States of America which is attempting, in every possible way, to use the United Nations to camouflage its imperialist policy, and appeals to Member States to refuse to lend themselves to demagogic manoeuvres which seriously harm the lofty national interests of the Korean people and of other peace-loving peoples, and the very prestige of the United Nations.

We listened with great attention to the important statement made by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which contains concrete and constructive proposals to solve the Korean problem. It demonstrates once again the sincerity of the efforts made, and the correctness of the policy pursued, by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with regard to the creation of conditions favourable to the independent reunification of the country. The delegation of Albania warmly welcomes the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the work of this Committee, and also welcomes its important contribution to the debate on the issue before us.

With regard to the so-called delegation of South Korea, I would like to indicate that it does not represent anything, since its members and the authorities which sent them here are nothing but puppets of American imperialism, isolated individuals who have nothing in common with the people of South Korea, who hate them because they do not in any way represent their true feelings and aspirations. Events in South Korea, demonstrations and protests of the population against the régime in power, are the best proof of the revolt and the struggle of the South Korean people against this puppet régime.

During this Committee's debate on the Korean question last year, we listened to the statement made by the delegation of the United States of America which contained, among other things, a number of promises. The delegation of Albania, as always, would like to openly express its opinion. We, and, in our view, many other delegations as well, have no illusions and we

have not entertained any hope that the words of the United States representatives would be translated into practice.

Since the debate last year, and up to the present time, no progress has been made. Quite to the contrary, the policy of aggression and occupation of South Korea practised by the United States of America has intensified and deepened. It has continued to supply weapons to the South Korean clique and has continually increased its military character. The serious provocations, the initiation of a war psychosis and other acts against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have continued. The United States occupation troops and the régime of Pak Jung Hi are exercising brutal terror over the South Korean people. Every effort made by the patriotic democratic forces towards the reunification of the country has been seriously condemned and barbarously repressed in bloodshed. The reprisals and savage measures taken against the innocent population this year, which we resolutely condemn, are common knowledge. The policy of oppression and dual exploitation by the United States military forces and the Seoul régime, have increased the hatred of the South Korean people and have also strengthened the movement to expel foreign troops and to reunify the country.

The United Nations has been, and continues to be, illegally involved in Korea. Behind a smoke-screen of United Nations resolutions, the United States imperialists have committed monstrous acts in Korea which not only have done serious harm to the national interests of the Korean people, but also have continued to threaten peace and security in the Far East and have seriously jeopardized the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

Now they are attempting to perpetuate the tragedy of the division of Korea into two parts, a tragedy which began 30 years ago, and efforts are being deployed so that the United Nations will legalize this work. In other words, it would then bear the seal of the United Nations. There has been enough speculation in the name of the United Nations in Korea. There has been enough abuse of the Charter and its provisions so that there could be brutal interference in the domestic affairs of the talented and courageous people of Korea, which is struggling for its right to live in freedom, sovereignty and unity within its country. Decisions taken many years ago by the United Nations with regard to the Korean question under the *diktat* of the United States of America were completely unfair, and experience has demonstrated that they have not served the task for which the United Nations was created. They were approved in a political

situation completely different from that prevailing now and at a time when the number of Member States in the United Nations was restricted. Since the relationship between forces within the United Nations has obviously changed, and the overwhelming majority of States are now resolutely expressing themselves in favour of the independence and liberty of peoples, it is indispensable for the United Nations to take effective measures to promote the just cause of the Korean people.

For centuries, the Korean people was united in a single nation, sharing the same language, the same culture and the same customs. The division of the country after the Second World War was imposed upon it after the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops. The Korean people, both in the north and in the south of the country, resolutely opposed this situation, and has constantly expressed its views against the continued maintenance of American troops in the south and against foreign interference in its domestic affairs. It has struggled to ensure the departure of the occupying troops in the southern part of the country and for full liberty and the exercise of effective sovereignty throughout the country. The entire Korean people, both in the north and in the south of the country, has resolutely expressed itself in favour of the reunification of the country. No one has the right to interfere in its domestic affairs or to raise obstacles to the efforts and resolute struggle of the Korean people to achieve its lofty national hopes. On the contrary, Member States bear the responsibility of contributing as much as possible to aid in the establishment of conditions favourable to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

United States troops have been stationed in South Korea for approximately 25 years, under the flag and symbols of the United Nations. No country has used the name of the United Nations for reasons of speculation for so long. The United Nations flag has served the United States of America as a camouflage for its aggressive and neo-colonialist policy in South Korea. American forces stationed in South Korea have nothing in common with the goals of the United Nations nor with the fundamental provisions of the Charter. There is no political, legal or moral basis for these so-called United Nations troops to continue to be stationed in South Korea, and therefore they should be withdrawn. The number of Member States which do not approve the maintenance of American troops in Korea under cover of the name of the United Nations is growing. In view of this new situation, the United States of America, aware of the fact that one day Member States will tear from it the mask of the United

Nations in Korea and stubbornly pursuing its policy, which is hostile to the Korean people, has now begun to change its tactics and is no longer claiming that the American troops in Korea are United Nations forces but, rather, that they are there by virtue of a mutual defence pact concluded between the United States of America and South Korea. As we should have expected, such a thesis is now also being loudly proclaimed by the puppet authorities in Seoul. In one word, as long as the United States of America was able to cling to the illegal resolutions of the United Nations it considered its troops in Korea to be United Nations forces, but now that this manoeuvre is being exposed the United States is clinging to a mutual defence pact concluded with a clique of traitors to the Korean people that is in power only in a part of Korean territory, and that has achieved that power only by virtue of the American presence. Such an attitude on the part of the United States of America is absurd and ridiculous, and in truth this new tactic more clearly demonstrates the real intentions of the United States of America in South Korea. The claim of American imperialists that if the United Nations troops withdraw from South Korea without any guarantee of the implementation of the Armistice Agreement the danger of war would increase has no basis. The danger of war in Korea is precisely due to the presence of American troops in South Korea and to the aggressive policy of the United States of America, threatening peace and security throughout the peninsula.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and President Kim Il Sung, himself, on the basis of a desire for a just solution to the Korean problem and an independent peaceful reunification of the country, have made successive proposals to advance in this direction. Their constructive proposals, which are the expression of the aspirations of the entire Korean people both in the north and in the south of the country, are designed to bring closer the solution of the problem of the division of their country and to avert a military confrontation and lessen tension in Korea, as well as to establish an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation in the full meaning of the word between the two parts of the country in order to achieve the reunification and to guarantee progress and the maintenance of peace in this part of the world. The just attitude of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its sincere desire to progress in this direction were clearly expressed once more by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in his statement to this Committee.

But the South Korean régime, supported by the United



States of America, has always rejected the reasonable proposals reiterated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It has raised successive obstacles and done everything to sabotage any act which might even to a small degree serve the interest of reunifying the country; and as if this were not enough the South Korean authorities, egged on by their bosses, have openly stressed their desire for the creation of two Koreas so that the division of Korea could be perpetuated. This dangerous plot has also taken the form of manoeuvres and attempts to admit as Members of the United Nations the two parts of Korea, or only the so-called "Republic of Korea", as has once again been confirmed by the speech of the representative of the puppet Seoul régime in this Committee. The delegation of Albania rejects this plot, as well as any attempt which would lead to its achievement. Korea is one and indivisible. The Korean people have firmly expressed the fact that they are a people constituting a single nation and that they will never permit the perpetuation of the artificial division of their country into two States.

In the view of the delegation of Albania, the debates in the United Nations on the problem of Korea gone on for a number of years do not serve the lofty interests of the people of Korea, or the interests of peace. We believe it is high time for the United Nations to take effective measures to respond to the just claims of the Korean people to put an end to any interference in their internal affairs and to leave them free to decide for themselves what their fate should be, to exercise their full sovereignty in their country and to progress towards its reunification. It is incumbent upon the United Nations to recognize the fundamental claims of the Korean people, which are in consonance with the provisions of the Charter, and to have strict respect for them — and that should not be confined only to expressions on paper. Member States should resolutely reject any plot of the imperialist Powers to hamper the process of reunification of Korea.

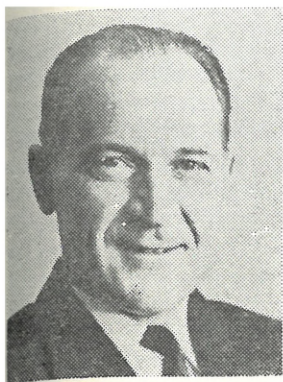
The stationing of United States troops in South Korea openly runs counter to the fundamental rules of international law and to the provisions of the Charter, which confirm respect for the sovereign rights of peoples and States, respect of territorial integrity, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

It is high time that the United Nations decided to withdraw all foreign troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag. United States forces should not continue to be stationed in South Korea under any cover and under no pretext. They should withdraw. The withdrawal of the United States occupation forces

from South Korea would be an important step forward towards the establishment of peace and security on the Korean peninsula. It is quite clear that the independent reunification of Korea cannot be achieved so long as those troops continue to be stationed in South Korea.

The draft resolution in document A/9703/Add.3 clearly reflects the aspirations of the Korean people and constitutes a good basis for the creation of conditions favourable to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. That is why we believe that all free and independence-loving States will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

With regard to the United States draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, it is nothing but an attempt to legalize and prolong the *status quo* in Korea. It complicates the problem even further. For those reasons the Albanian delegation will vote against that draft resolution.



## EUGENIUSZ KULAGA

Poland

*Speech Made on December 4*

Once again the Polish delegation wishes to explain its stand on the very important question now under consideration. Once again we wish to do so in the spirit of contribution to the long-overdue solution of the problem of the reunification of Korea in accordance with the wishes of the Korean people and in accordance with the interests of peace and security.

I should like in the first place to extend, on behalf of the Polish delegation, our cordial and fraternal welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Comrade Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of that Government. It is the second time that the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has participated in the United Nations General Assembly debate on the question of Korea, and it is the second time that it has brought the important, authentic contribution of the Korean people to our deliberations and to the decisions that we are about to take.

We follow with particular attention the very active role played by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in international life, both on the bilateral and on the multilateral plane. The foreign policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is guided by the objective of strengthening international peace and developing co-operation with all States in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. On many occasions the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has reiterated its firm adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. By deeds and international practice the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has proved its goodwill and determination to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence. Indeed, numerous facts testify to the growing recognition by the international community of the incessant efforts of the Govern-

ment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in this direction.

Of particular relevance to our debate are the consistent efforts, initiatives and activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the solution of a problem which is, understandably enough, a most essential preoccupation of the Korean people but which is also a problem of direct and great interest to us all and to the cause of peace and security. I have in mind, in particular, the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful national reunification of Korea, proposals that were so aptly recalled for us by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The position in the world of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is also the consequence of its impressive accomplishments in the development of its national economy and its efforts to raise the standards of living of the Korean people. We of Poland appreciate the achievements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as we too have gone through a similar drive towards progress in the last 30 years of our post-war existence.

As far as Poland is concerned, we have consistently demonstrated our interest in the solution of the Korean problem. We have been stressing that the reunification of Korea by peaceful means, without foreign intervention, in conformity with the express will of the Korean people, constitutes an important step towards easing tensions on the Korean peninsula and that it would substantially contribute to the strengthening of peace in the whole area. Guided by that conviction, my delegation joined 38 other Member States in asking for the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of an item entitled "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". Poland is also one of the sponsors of the draft resolution submitted under this item in document A/C.1/L.677.

Twenty-four years have already elapsed since the United Nations was dragged into a military intervention in the Korean war. The well-known position of my country vis-à-vis that illegal action has been clearly expressed and reaffirmed on many occasions. One of the many consequences of the United Nations intervention in Korea is the presence of foreign troops which have been stationed in South Korea since that time under the flag of the United Nations. Much has changed in the world in those 24 years. Much has changed in Asia as well, and also in

the general approach to the Korean problem. The times of the cold war, of policies based on a position of strength and of the brutal disregard for the will of nations are fading away.

The United Nations itself has taken a number of measures with a view to eliminating its deplorable involvement in Korea. At the twenty-eighth session the General Assembly decided to dissolve without delay the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea — an ill-conceived body which was never really meant to serve the ideals which its misleading name implied. That and other steps, long overdue and called for over many years by my delegation as well as by many other delegations, are signs of a process of disengagement of the United Nations from attitudes, practices and activities contrary to its true vocation, to its interests and to the requirements of the situation.

The dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was an important step towards the creation of the necessary conditions for the Korean people to solve their internal problems themselves, without foreign interference and in full conformity with the purposes of the United Nations Charter and the interests of the Korean people. Experience has proved that one of the main obstacles to this end is the continuing presence in South Korea of foreign military units. Thus, the continued stationing of foreign troops in South Korea has proved to be the main factor hampering progress in the dialogue and co-operation between the two parts of Korea. The removal of this obstacle is necessary for progress in the dialogue between North and South Korea, which was endorsed by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. Such a situation would facilitate further steps to be taken to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of that country. As was so rightly pointed out by Vice-Minister Li Jong Mok before this Committee on 25 November of this year, in order to ease tensions and ensure durable peace in Korea, all the foreign troops deployed in South Korea under the United Nations flag have to be withdrawn and the Korean question left to the Koreans themselves.

These are the underlying reasons for which Poland, as a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677, considers that it is necessary to withdraw all the foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations stationed in South Korea. The sponsors expect that the General Assembly will appeal to the parties directly concerned to undertake appropriate steps aimed at the withdrawal from South Korea of

foreign troops under the United Nations flag. May I add that such a step would help to liquidate the fiction of United Nations involvement in Korea and that it would signify the elimination of the remnants of the cold war era in the United Nations. This, as opposed to the approach expressed in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, is in our opinion the right path to follow, the path which is in the interests of the Korean people, of the reunification of Korea and of peace and security both in that region and in the world.

In approving the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 which I referred to, the United Nations will have an other opportunity to extricate itself from its present involvement and, on the other hand, to contribute to a positive evolution towards détente in the Korean peninsula and in the Far East in general. Such an action is in perfect agreement with the common trend of the present international situation towards a relaxation of tensions and the development of broadly conceived co-operation. It is in the interests of the international community to encourage this positive trend in the Korean peninsula by the creation of more favourable conditions for dialogue and co-operation between North and South Korea. We therefore share the hope expressed by Vice-Minister Li Jong Mok in his statement to this Committee:

“The delegation of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea sincerely hopes that the United Nations General Assembly this year will be marked as a historic session which will make a substantial contribution to accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea by adopting a just decision for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the banner of the ‘United Nations forces’, in conformity with the common aspirations of the Korean people and the peoples of the world, and the requirement of the times.” (2029th meeting, p. 43)

The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea which would mean the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command that is actually nothing but a fiction, would greatly facilitate the implementation of the basic objective of the Korean people — the reunification of the land without any foreign interference. It is precisely for those reasons that the implementation of the provisions of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 is in the interests of the entire Korean people and in the interests of international peace and détente.

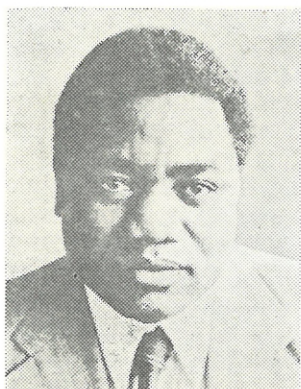
### *Speech Made on December 9*

The representative of Algeria has raised an important problem, it seems to me. I should like to talk about this problem in relation to the problem and not by starting a new general debate. I will not talk about the tumour and the patient: I think that removing the tumour, especially when it is malign, is of course of extreme importance, but that is not the reason for my intervention.

The question raised by our colleague from Algeria concerns the fact that we have before us two separate items which have been debated, for purely practical reasons, under the same title. I will not enter into the argumentation already put forward by our colleague from Algeria concerning the submission of the item concerning the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag. This was done at a very much earlier stage. It was introduced as a separate point on the provisional agenda; it was considered as such by the General Committee. What I should like to mention especially here is the fact that the author of the proposal to have the two questions — the first one and then the next one which was added later — discussed together himself said:

“It was merely a question of facilitating the work of the Assembly and for purely practical reasons — I emphasize ‘purely practical reasons’ — it would be more logical to deal with the two items simultaneously.”

I am raising that point because the implications of the question and the implications of what the representative of Algeria has said are very important indeed. Some of them were explained by the representative of Cuba. I should like to add to what has been said already that had it been meant as one item I am sure the authors of the second proposal — subitem (b) — would not have chosen to put on the agenda a new point; they could have done so under the point which was already on the provisional agenda for the session. Logically, therefore, and by the implied admission of the sponsors of the second item, we have two separate and distinct items on our agenda: we have item 104 (a) and item 104 (b), with all the consequences that have for the vote on the two proposals which are before the Committee.



## **RUPIAH BWEZANI BANDA**

### **Zambia**

My delegation takes great pleasure in expressing warm and sincere greetings to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by His Excellency Mr. Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. We recall with pleasure the historic

appearance of the North Korean delegation before this Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. This was a source of satisfaction to Zambia and to many other countries which uphold justice and which had for many years striven for the right of North Korea to participate in any United Nations debate which directly affected it.

As at the twenty-eighth session, our debate this year has been greatly enriched by the contribution of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, for the statement of His Excellency Mr. Li Jong Mok was an eloquent expression of the burning desire of the Korean people to reunite their artificially divided country and a persuasive message as to the role the United Nations can and must play to facilitate the process of reunification. In this connexion, my delegation cannot conceal its admiration of the gentle yet firm manner in which the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs conducted himself throughout the delivery of his important statement.

At the twenty-eighth session we adopted a consensus, welcoming the joint statement of North and South Korea issued on 4 July 1972, concerning the peaceful reunification of that country. That statement spelt out three basic principles for reunification: namely, that it should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or interference; that it should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms by one side against the other; and that great national unity should be promoted. In going along with the consensus, my delegation did not in any way compromise Zambia's long held view that the presence of foreign forces in the South is not



conducive to the success of the efforts towards the peaceful reunification of Korea. Our interpretation of the North/South statement was that it implied the withdrawal of all foreign forces stationed in South Korea.

It comes as no surprise to my delegation that there has been a stalemate in the dialogue between North and South Korea. For how can it be otherwise when thousands of foreign forces remain in a part of the country and blatantly interfere in its internal affairs? The two parts of Korea had pledged themselves to work for reunification, independently and without foreign interference, but the continued presence of foreign forces in South Korea and their relentless interference in the affairs of the Korean people implied that North Korea was expected to negotiate under duress.

The question we must all honestly answer is: what purpose do those foreign forces serve, especially in the light of the express desire of the Korean people to work for the reunification of their country by peaceful means? For its part, North Korea has expressed its readiness to enter into a peace agreement with South Korea. This, in our view, proves the genuinely peaceful intentions of North Korea and thoroughly refutes those unfounded allegations about North Korean aggressive designs that one hears about from time to time.

Another disturbing fact about the question of Korea is that the foreign forces are in that country under cover of the United Nations flag. Not only do they not serve the interests of this Organization, but also they owe their allegiance to the country from which they come and are accountable to that country. This is a shame upon our Organization. In this era and age, it is to be deeply regretted that the United Nations continues to allow itself to be used as an instrument of the hegemonistic foreign policy of a super-Power. This state of affairs can certainly not enhance the prestige of our Organization.

It is against this background that my delegation believes we must all direct our efforts at genuinely contributing to the lofty goal of the Korean people, namely the reunification of their country by peaceful means. We must facilitate their progress and encourage them in the path they have chosen to follow. What needs to be done is clear. All the foreign troops stationed in South Korea should be withdrawn immediately. Their presence serves only to complicate the bilateral negotiations between the two parts of Korea. They give rise to an atmosphere of suspicion of motive and add to the intransigence of those they purport to protect against an illusory aggressor. Furthermore,

the United Nations must redeem its prestige by deciding to dissolve immediately the so-called United Nations Command.

The people of Korea have long made it clear that they have decided to resolve their differences through peaceful means. They are entitled to self-determination. No foreign Power has any right whatsoever to interfere in their internal affairs or to encroach upon their sovereignty. This is why my country is a sponsor of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677. The text is an earnest and positive effort, the sole purpose of which is the creation of favourable conditions for the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. In other words, our draft resolution seeks to terminate foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea; to eliminate the danger of a military confrontation between the North and the South; and to offer encouragement to the parties in the dialogue for the reunification of their country. It is certainly in the spirit of the North-South joint statement of 4 July 1972. My delegation therefore urges this Committee to adopt our draft resolution by the overwhelming majority that it deserves.

The other draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/L.676, is nothing but a manoeuvre aimed at the perpetuation of the presence of foreign troops in South Korea and the continued abuse of the United Nations flag. In the opinion of my delegation, it is perfectly within the competence of the General Assembly to decide on the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and to demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea. The motives of those who have proposed that the question of the dissolution of the Command be considered by the Security Council are obvious, for it is in that organ that the super-Power whose troops are operating in South Korea under the United Nations flag could, through the use of its right of veto, frustrate the desire of the Korean people and all progressive forces. In any case, it is a fact that the action taken by the Security Council in 1953 remains controversial to date. There are many Member States which feel that the Security Council should not have allowed itself to be manipulated by a super-Power for its own national interests. It goes without saying, therefore, that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.676, which neither serves the cause of the Korean people nor enhances the prestige of the United Nations, deserves to be rejected by this Committee.

In conclusion, I should like to reiterate Zambia's strong opposition to the rather preposterous suggestion made by certain delegations to the effect that North Korea and South Korea be

admitted to the United Nations as separate entities. This position of principle was made very clear by my Foreign Minister when he spoke in the general debate in the plenary Assembly on 24 September 1974. In our view, such a suggestion can mean only one thing, namely the ugly designs of certain countries to perpetuate the division of Korea. As could be expected, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is working genuinely and tirelessly for the goal of reunification, has refused to be duped into this imperialist plot. To demonstrate its interest in the representation of the Korean nation and people as a whole, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has advanced a proposal, namely, that if they must join the United Nations before reunification, North Korea and South Korea should do so as a single State under the name of the Confederated Republic of Koryo. This to us is a reasonable proposal. The United Nations should do nothing that could seal as permanent the division of Korea.



## BENJAMIN ECUA MIKO

### Equatorial Guinea

On this occasion, when for the first time I take the floor to address this Committee, the importance of which is enhanced by the nature of the matters entrusted to it, it is for me an honour and satisfaction to have the opportunity to represent the Govern-

ment of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, guided by its President and the President of the Central Committee of the National Party of Workers, the honourable and great comrade, Francisco Macias Nguema Biyogo, and thereby demonstrate to the international community meeting here how we view and interpret the principles of unity, peace and justice which are so sorely lacking not only on the Korean peninsula but also in our contemporary world. These principles are so basic that my country will not feel any sense of pride until they prevail in every corner of our planet.

Misunderstanding and a desire for hegemony on the part of some countries of the world brought about the destruction wrought by the First and Second World Wars. Of course, I would like to thank and to congratulate the 51 States which signed the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco on 26 June 1945. I say "I would like to" because I believed that by creating unity at San Francisco they would be able to avert a third world war, that would bring with it untold suffering for mankind. I say "I would like to", because I did not know that in the Spanish language the word "unity" also would imply division in San Francisco.

The people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea find nothing to appreciate with respect to many of the Members of our Organization, who, while they take refuge behind that word unity have been unable to falsify its true meaning and have therefore resorted to division to defend their selfish interests and to impose a hegemony of domination, not only within their own borders, but also outside them, and even outside their own con-

tinents, thereby establishing foreign rights which take root and prevail over every inch beyond their borders.

Having experienced this, my country cannot join those to whom unity signifies division, not for themselves, for they have been united for centuries, but for others who are trying to unite. For my country, unity includes peace, justice, understanding and mutual aid in a spirit of solidarity. These are the ideas which bind us to the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which, as a proof of its desire for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea is proposing the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed by force in the southern part of the country, and which apparently are known as the United Nations Force. That just and irrefutable proposal was supported by the United Nations, for the General Assembly noted with satisfaction on 28 November 1973 the joint communiqué signed by the North and the South of Korea on 4 July 1972 which, among other things, stipulated that:

“(a) The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance on outside force or its interference;”

With regard to outside interference, my delegation would like to request the good offices of this Committee with a view to recommending to the General Assembly the initiation of steps leading to the withdrawal of all military forces under the flag of the United Nations and to stating that it considers any bilateral agreement that any other country might have with either of the parties with regard to military matters as nothing other than interference militating against the work of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Therefore, any such agreements of this type should not be considered valid nor should they be recognized by Members of the United Nations in undertaking efforts to achieve the reunification of the Korean people.

The world has suffered tensions and war, and for that reason it “seemed” wise to establish the United Nations and it “seemed” wise to create among other things, special funds for peace keeping in various regions of the world as well as to create the best possible standards of living. Peace, which is so lacking on earth, is now being maintained in the Republic of Equatorial Guinea despite the constant manoeuvres and conspiracies to disrupt it on the part of colonialists and imperialists. Therefore, the peaceful people of Equatorial Guinea has chosen the path of peaceful revolution to achieve economic and social development within its National United Workers Party.

That is the peace advocated by the people of the Democratic

People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful and independent reunification of its country in the spirit of the Joint Communiqué, which also stipulates that:

"The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;"

It is also a source of pride for me to report to members the fact that only a few days ago the people of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea celebrated six years of justice which have made it possible to forget the holocaust of 200 years of injustice which it lived under during the colonial régime. The present existence of two Koreas with the appearance of two distinct political entities is the result that the colonialists and imperialists prefer. It is for them the fruit of justice, while for my country and for many other peace-loving countries it is the fruit of injustice. Therefore, it is necessary if the reunification of Korea is to take place on the basis of social justice that all sectors of the two populations participate fully in the patriotic task of national reunification. Keeping to this same interpretation of justice, the great national union should begin with a system of government between the North and the South which would be in consonance with the desires of the indigenous Koreans, under a single State with a name which would be acceptable to both peoples. And if we still apply this same interpretation of justice, the entry of the two Koreas into the United Nations would automatically imply a change in the name of our Organization and would turn the name of the Organization into the "Divided Nations". This is a situation that we must avoid at all costs, both for our own good as well as for that of coming generations.

Furthermore, how can we discuss the reunification of the Korean peninsula and the entry of the two Koreas into the United Nations at the same time? Some speakers who preceded me have demonstrated this possibility by giving some examples, such as the entry into the United Nations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Democratic German Republic and so forth. And so I wonder how many of the states that make up the United States of America are represented here within the United Nations?

With regard to what is before us now and with regard to our debate on the question of Korea, I would like to reflect here on the belief that the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations falls within the purview of the Security Council. I believe this constitutes a

mockery of all Members not enjoying the famous right of veto which was so imprudently included in the Charter of San Francisco. I say this to note that unfortunately the veto now serves merely to perpetuate injustice, in other parts of the world and not to protect peace, unity and justice, because it is a means of protecting the ambitious interests of a few. Further, why should we have recourse to such a high and mighty body when by the voice of justice alone and without bloodshed the peaceful people of Equatorial Guinea, after only one year of independence, was able to expel foreign forces which had been in the country for two centuries. Even more when the voice of justice of a world community such as ours is in this case rising from within the United Nations.

The head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in his important statement to this Committee on 25 November 1974, quite reasonably expressed the best ways of achieving the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Among them was to be found the mass participation in that task of the entire Korean people. For this purpose he called on the United Nations to withdraw the foreign forces in order to ensure dialogue between the North and the South of Korea. This decision should be taken by the General Assembly, a body composed of the representatives of 138 Member States of the United Nations.

The head of the delegation of South Korea believes, on the contrary, that such a decision should be adopted by the Security Council, in which only the representatives of 15 States Members of the United Nations are to be found. He does so not because he has a great deal of confidence in that body, but rather in order to be able to count upon the favourable vote of the United States of America, whose representative stated to this Committee his Government's interest in maintaining peace and security in the Korean peninsula.

Thus, my delegation agrees that it is quite necessary to maintain peace and security in that area, but it does not believe that the only way to achieve these goals is with a gun in the hand.

Before us is the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, the first preambular paragraph of which states:

"The General Assembly, desiring that progress be made towards the attainment of the goal of peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people,". Here, I ask myself, how are we to achieve the goal of a peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people

if the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 "...remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area," as is stated in the third preambular paragraph? Or is the mutual defence Treaty, dated 8 August 1953, signed between the United States of America and South Korea what remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area? Therefore, I am not surprised that this draft resolution was sponsored by the United States of America, the military force of which is concealed behind the United Nations. The draft advocates theoretical peace and security rather than speaking of preserving its imperialist power in the area for the sole purpose of safeguarding its own interests, which are not even shared by the South Koreans themselves.

The second preambular paragraph states: "Recalling its satisfaction with the issuance of the joint communiqué at Seoul and Pyongyang on 4 July 1972 ...". I wonder what problem there is in withdrawing the foreign forces from South Korea if that is the spirit of the Joint Communiqué which is recalled with satisfaction.

With regard to the fourth preambular paragraph—I do not wish to tire the members of the Committee by reading it, but my delegation believes that if this frequently quoted Joint Communiqué, which it is said was signed in Pyongyang and Seoul on 4 July 1972, is indeed a reality, then the presence of the so-called United Nations military forces has no meaning, since this communiqué reduces the responsibility of the United Nations, as it states the intentions of the parties concerned to reunify. And with regard to the same document, operative paragraph 1 merely urges that a purely theoretical situation prevail because no negotiations can be conducted while military forces are separating the two populations. In brief, operative paragraph 2 requests that the question of Korea be sent to the Security Council where the United States of America and its allies can use the veto to preserve United States interests in South Korea.

For all these reasons, my delegation hopes that, through this Committee, this session of the General Assembly will adopt a resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea—those of the United States as well as those of other military forces which are hampering the reunification enterprise—and all of this so that better conditions for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea can be promoted in consonance with the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, of which my country is a sponsor and which it recommends to all members of this Committee.



Mr. Chairman, I would not like to conclude my brief statement without joining so many other speakers who have expressed their sincere and warm congratulations to you upon your election as Chairman of our Committee. These congratulations are also extended to the other officers of the Committee. Because of your well-known competence and ability, my delegation is convinced that our discussions will be successful.

At the same time I would like to take this opportunity to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea presided over by Comrade Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. May I express the deep desire of my delegation that his presence among us during the debate on this question will considerably contribute to the fruitful development of our work within the spirit of understanding and frankness, so that a just, effective and lasting solution will be found to ensure true peace on the Korean peninsula.

In conclusion, I would like once again to express the deep desire of the people and Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea to see unity, peace and justice reign throughout the world; and that it not be merely in the beautiful speeches that have been made here for 29 years, but also that our daily duties will make it possible to ensure that what we say is consistent with what we do, if not totally, at least 99 per cent. In that case, the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, and subsequent steps toward reunification in consequence with the five points proposed by the Korean leader, the great Comrade Kim Il Sung will contribute to unity, peace and justice on the Korean peninsula.



## **PHILIP JOHNATHAN GBAGU PALMER**

**Sierra Leone**

Our decision to participate in this debate has not been motivated by any inclination to any political bloc involved in this issue, nor any desire to take sides with South Korea against North Korea or the other way around.

Our contribution to this debate has resulted from our deep feeling for the Korean people as a whole and our conviction that this nation must be left alone to live its life as a people and practise its age-old traditions and customs unpolluted by foreign ideologies and power struggle.

Wherever the Powers enter, divisions have resulted. We look at Germany today, we look at Viet-Nam, and even my continent, Africa, vast and resourceful but cut up and destroyed by foreign invaders who forced their ideologies on us, their religions, their culture also on the unsuspecting Africans. Today we, the Africans, while struggling to assert our identity and free our minds from servitude, acknowledge with disappointment that our efforts have not been completely successful. The process of indoctrination had been too deliberate and cruelly thorough. We still cling loyally to European or American civilization and dismiss our own culture as primitive.

Our fears for the Korean people, therefore, are genuine. If we can help to save their identity and preserve their unity we must not spare any effort.

And since we, the victims of separation and division, could not save Africa or Viet-Nam or Germany when they were violated, because we were not strong enough to say or do anything that would avert the division of those territories, we accept it now as our duty to save our brothers in Korea.

For this reason my delegation joins other interested delegations to request that all foreign troops under the United Nations flag should leave Korea. Their very presence is a source of tension and a reminder of the pain and agony of the civil war that

struck that territory in the early 1950s. But this was over 20 years ago and the guns have been silent that long. The peace-keeping troops, however, are still there and are almost now a part of the territory. The longer they remain the more they consolidate the division of the territory into north and south and the more remote will the possibility become for a settlement of the problem and the reunification of the two parts of the territory.

Recent development in that region characterized by statements of support from one ally for one Government against the other, and even some statements made in this Committee, especially by active participants in the conflict in support of their side, do not help the situation. On the contrary, they widen the gulf and send each party digging his trench deeper behind his fence. This is not the forum to reiterate one's support for one side against the other. This is where we temper the differences by displaying matured understanding, genuine respect and sympathy for the views of both foe and ally alike. This responsibility lies more on the shoulders of the major Powers which have already, as always, taken sides in the conflict. There is need for restraint on their part if the compromise should be sought that would assure the reunification of the Korean people.

The peace-keeping troops were sent to Korea to keep the Koreans separated. They must be removed first, therefore, if the Korean nation is to become one, once more. It is quite convenient for Powers to divide nations to solve disputes. But such solutions are very misleading because they create more fears, suspicion, competition and hatred, while imported ideologies create new divisions and a more bitter struggle.

Korea is one country, and by referring to North or South we are merely endorsing this view that Korea is a single territory and its people one nation. All efforts therefore must be made to solve existing differences and ensure the continued existence of the Korean people as a single entity. This would best be done by the Koreans themselves, not by communist, socialist or Western allies.

Last year the General Assembly noted with satisfaction the 1972 Joint Communiqué of North and South Korea, and encouraged the two sides to continue their dialogue. It also decided to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to allow the two sides to work out solutions without outside interference.

Our request this year, therefore, for the removal of foreign

troops from Korea is a follow-up of the decisions of the last General Assembly.

It is unfortunate that some delegations find it a burden to remind the General Assembly again this year that the Korean issue is not yet solved.

Shelving the issue as we did last year did not mean closing it. We cannot close it until we find a way of bringing the Korean people together. Therefore, embarrassing though it may seem to any delegation because of its involvement in the conflict, my delegation would continue to remind the United Nations of its responsibility towards the Korean people and to co-operate with other delegations in a search for a peaceful settlement.



## SEYDOU TRAORE

### Mali

The valiant people of Korea, which has never renounced the aim of forging its own destiny, has devoted itself throughout its centuries-old history to achieving peace and concord. It has always fought against and triumphed over attempts to break up

the country.

The foreign occupation it endured throughout the Second World War was unable to destroy its unity. It was not until the intervention in Asia in 1945 by the Allies to bring about the surrender of the Axis Powers that we witnessed the partition of Korea which is our concern today. The situation only deteriorated further when certain Powers, interpreting the provisions of the Charter solely in the light of their policy of hegemony, led our Organization into a war which was fundamentally contrary to its purposes and objectives.

However, the General Assembly in its resolution of 14 November 1947 put an end to the authority of foreign forces over Korea and recognized the right to independence of the Korean people. The Assembly of the people of all Korea, made up of 360 representatives for the South and 212 for the North met and elected President Kim Il Sung their Head of Government. The unity of the country was once again saved. But external forces, with the support of such elements as Syngman Rhee, physically liquidated the patriots of the South who were in favour of reunification.

Trouble broke out, and a painful and fratricidal war began in Korea, brought about by foreign intervention. The aggressors, beaten back by the patriotic forces, had to appeal once again to the United Nations to limit their defeat. It was in these circumstances that the Armistice Agreement of Panmunjom was signed on 27 July 1953. The solemn commitment under article V, according to which a high-level conference was to be convened to seek a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, remained

a dead letter. Apart from an exchange of prisoners and a decision on the demarcation line, what had happened represented a deterioration in the situation on the Korean peninsula. The administration of the southern part of the country, defying the legitimate aspirations of the entire Korean people, placed itself at the service of the policy of hegemony of its masters. South Korea thus became the leverage for achieving a certain dream of colonial reconquest in the Far East.

The troops at present stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag, which are over-armed and undertake constant military forays, have never been under the administration or management of our world Organization. The rules which apply elsewhere to United Nations peace-keeping forces are unknown to them. Their action falls within the global strategy of one single Power, which is misusing an illicit sanction by the United Nations.

The Organization should long ago have refused to lend its name to this bloody game. This tragedy has lasted all too long, to the detriment of the Korean people and of peace. Yet, all the necessary conditions existed to free the United Nations from the Korean crisis. In fact the pressure exercised by the peoples that love peace and justice upon the transnational military-industrial complex led to a progressive normalization of the relations among the Powers. The international language became rich with new words: "peaceful coexistence", "détente", "disarmament", "co-operation", "development" and so on. Thanks to the patient efforts made for the survival of mankind, we have the many agreements concerning the liberation of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa. The frontiers of nations have been opened and Governments are becoming increasingly aware of the futility of armed might.

Korea cannot and must not be left outside this great current of renewal directed towards establishing a new world based on tolerance, peace and progress, a world where peoples will forge their own destinies according to their own character, without outside interference.

Our delegations have always deplored and denounced interference by the United Nations in the internal affairs of Korea. Without further delay we must relieve it of this heavy mortgage by dissolving the United Nations Command in Korea, and by removing from South Korea the United Nations flag, which is a sign of peace and which therefore should be flown only for peace, and not to cover the imperialist designs of certain Powers.

On 21 November 1973 the First Committee seemed to face

these realities by recommending to the General Assembly the immediate dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

This recommendation was a not inconsiderable factor in the consensus at which we arrived. Even though the consensus does have serious omissions, my delegation raised no objection because it won the support, among others, of the main parties to the dispute. We adhered to it also because we have always adhered to proposals that are intended, through negotiations undertaken in good faith, to remove tensions which could at any moment place the fate of mankind in jeopardy. Like most delegations, we had also hoped that the consensus would revive the negotiations started by the parties and lead to a final settlement of the Korean question. Today — that is to say, a year after the adoption of that consensus — the situation remains unchanged and there is always the threat that it will deteriorate.

In the debate which has just started, we must set as our main objective the goal of making the process of the settlement of the crisis more dynamic, while naturally taking into account the ineffectiveness of the consensus and the three main principles which must guide our action, namely, the reunification of the country achieved independently without outside interference, the reunification of the country by peaceful means without recourse to force, and the great unity of the nation. Our Organization must help to give practical effect to the profound aspirations of the entire Korean people for national unity.

To this end, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, by its co-operation has facilitated the task. My delegation has already had occasion in this connexion to draw the attention of our Committee to the wise five-point proposals presented by President Kim Il Sung who, after the cowardly assassination of the patriot Cho Pong An, received a democratic and plenipotentiary mandate from the Assembly of the people of all Korea, north and south alike, to achieve the peaceful unification of the country. We reaffirm that those proposals remain a realistic basis for the settlement of the Korean crisis. Their objectives are in accord with the principles of the Charter with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is the duty of the United Nations to support them and to ensure that they prevail, thus restoring its reputation in the Korean question.

As the programme presented by the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea affirmed, the happiness of all the Korean people cannot be achieved in an artificially divided country. The formula "divide and rule" unfortunately still has sup-

porters. That policy has been a failure since the time of Caesar. It has brought only suffering and unnecessary grievance to the people to which it has been applied since the Second World War. The unification of Korea is, therefore, essential for the establishment of a lasting peace in that country and in the entire Indo-Chinese subcontinent. Our Organization must not be part of the warlike policy of "divide and rule" which has until now prevailed.

In the course of the debate on the question of Cambodia in the General Assembly, we listened to lengthy statements on how essential it was to allow the peoples of Asia to shape their own destiny free from outside interference. A dialogue, we were told, is the only formula which the United Nations can recommend to the parties to dispute. We doubt the sincerity of those who endorse that view, because it is they themselves who, on the item we are considering, advocate the presence of the so-called United Nations forces in Korea. Korea is also an Asian country. The five-point proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea advocate nothing other than an open and frank dialogue among Koreans.

Those proposals were made public at both the governmental and parliamentary levels, as we know from the letter of the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea addressed to all the Parliaments and Governments of the world. They have been further enriched by the new initiatives taken last March by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to normalize relations with the United States of America, whose Government is mainly responsible for the situation now prevailing in Korea.

These new proposals were presented in detail by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the statement he made in our Committee on 25 November last. They all centred on the sincere desire of his Government to create the objective conditions necessary for the restoration of peace in the country.

The peaceful reunification of Korea will be achieved by the Koreans themselves, free from outside interference. Any delays, intimidations, increases of foreign military bases in the southern part of the country will be of no avail.

The Seoul administration, on the orders of its masters, will for some time still drown in blood the revolt of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and religious people, those who struggle with their brothers in the north to end the exploitation of the resources of their country, but the victory of the Korean people is inevitable. Only the reunification of Korea can absolve



the United Nations of its interference in the internal affairs of that country.

The illegal presence of foreign occupation forces on Korean soil under cover of the flag of the United Nations can only prolong the calvary of the Korean people and further engage our responsibility. Clashes will continue as long as the Korean country remains divided against the will of its people.

We find this determination in the statement made by President Kim Il Sung on 1 October 1974, when he said:

"Since Korea is one and since our nation is homogeneous, it cannot be divided in two, it cannot be permanently divided into two countries."

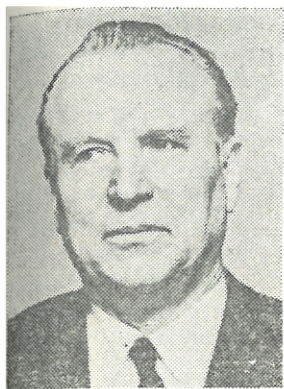
It is in view of that national feeling of the Korean people and of the correct assessment of the role of the United Nations in its primary mission to maintain peace throughout the world that 38 countries, including Mali, have submitted the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 for the consideration of the First Committee. This draft followed logically from the dynamics of the settlement process which was started last year on the Korean question. Indeed, we have agreed on the need to continue negotiations by the two Korean parties without any outside interference in order to achieve the unity of the country. This fundamental condition will always be distorted as long as the southern part of Korea seeks the support of foreign troops under cover of the flag of our Organization in order to perpetuate the division of the country, in defiance of the profound aspirations of the people.

The choice of the United Nations, an Organization created by the will of peoples and on their behalf, must fall on the Korean population almost all of whom are fighting in extremely difficult conditions for the unification of their country and not on a handful of traitors and their allies who, as each General Assembly session approaches, endeavour to surprise us by statements that are forgotten as soon as made. The maintenance of foreign troops under the United Nations flag is contrary to our Organization's mission of peace. It is a complete denial of the ethics of our Organization because, in Korea, it is the United Nations that is waging war against the people; because, in Korea, it is the United Nations that is violating the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the country. It is furthermore a defiance of the right of all peoples to be masters of their own destinies, a right recognized by the Charter.

On the other hand, we believe that the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 have no other objective than

to maintain the state of tension in the Korean peninsula. While American bombs rained down in Korea, the Security Council in 1950 illegally led our Organization into a long and bloody war against the people of Korea. Our Committee must without hesitation reject inconsistent proposals which seek not to obtain peace in Korea in terms of the profound aspirations of its people but to perpetuate the partition of that through unworthy manoeuvres. Furthermore, our Organization, which since the beginning has undertaken to guarantee the territorial integrity and the unity of the Korean nation, cannot, without denying itself, sanction the pernicious formula for the admission of two Korean States.

The Korean people wishes to be reconciled with itself and wishes to achieve its unity in peace. The United Nations must assist it in that. The flag of our Organization flies in that country but does not serve it in that task. Members of our Committee should ponder this seriously and take the long-awaited decision to give back to the Korean people its right to a national destiny.



## **YAKOV ALEKSANDROVICH MALIK**

**Union of Soviet  
Socialist Republics**

*Speech Made on December 4*

In connexion with the new discussion in the First Committee of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly on the question of Korea, the delegation of the USSR considers it necessary to state the position of the Soviet Union on this important question, which the United Nations has been dealing with for more than 20 years. The discussion of the Korean question at this session of the Assembly is taking place in more favourable circumstances than ever before in the whole long history of the consideration of this matter in the United Nations. There has been a change for the better in the general international situation. The time of the cold war, of which the peoples of the world had wearied, has passed into oblivion. There is an intensification and a strengthening of the process of international détente. The peoples of the world have heaved a sigh of relief and are breathing more freely. Prospects have emerged for ridding mankind of the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe. The United Nations, for its part, is making a contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security. The overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations voted in the United Nations for the non-use of force in international relations and for the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, and favoured the convening of a world disarmament conference and the prohibition of the use of the environment and climate for military purposes. A number of other decisions have also been taken designed to strengthen peace. Not without difficulty, but firmly and with conviction, the negotiation process is being developed in a positive way by the European countries, and also by the United States and Canada, on such topical questions as European security and co-operation and the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The recent

meeting of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, with the United States President, Mr. Ford, was an important event of great international significance for the further development of United States-USSR relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. The political results of this meeting, as is pointed out in the decision of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, give new momentum to a strengthening of international détente, and to an expansion of the mutually advantageous co-operation of States with different social systems, and make a constructive contribution to the strengthening of universal peace.

The changes which have been engendered by the process of the easing of international tension have had a fundamental effect also on the Asian continent. It can be said with every justification that the favourable influence of the process of détente, in one way or another, is being felt everywhere. Were it not for the trend towards détente, the situation, even in those parts of the world where unfortunately there is still tension, would be much more complicated and explosive, and this also applies to the situation in the Korean peninsula. A favourable influence on the general situation in which the discussion of the Korean question is going on at this session of the Assembly has been exerted by the consistent and firm, peace-loving actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which enjoys growing understanding and support inside the United Nations. There has been an improvement in the conditions for a business-like discussion of the question of Korea in the United Nations itself.

At the last session of the Assembly, the many years of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the United Nations were finally brought to an end. Its official representatives, for the first time, had an opportunity to take part in the discussion of matters relating to Korea. Members of the United Nations, throughout the long history of the discussion of the Korean question, have finally also been able to hear the views of the other side, those of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a fact which, without any doubt, has facilitated a constructive discussion of the complicated problems connected with the present situation in the Korean peninsula and with the creation of the

necessary conditions for the peaceful democratic reunification of the country.

Of great significance in this context, too, is the decision of the Assembly to grant the right of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to set up its own official permanent observer mission to the United Nations. We welcome, with great satisfaction, to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, our distinguished friend and comrade, Li Jong Mok. The Korean problem has remained for more than two decades on the agenda of General Assembly sessions. Once again, as so many times in the past, the United Nations has had to deal with this question ever since the Korean people became the victim of foreign military intervention, when, even after the sounds of artillery fire in the Second World War had died away and longed-for peace came to the world, foreign troops arrived in Korea. This question, unfortunately, still retains its significance and urgency because, up to this very day, foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people has not ceased and foreign troops, which are an instrument of this intervention, still remain in South Korea despite the will of the Korean people.

The most paradoxical thing in this whole abnormal situation is the fact that these are the troops of only one State. However, in order to camouflage their stationing in South Korea, they are known as the United Nations forces and are illegally using the flag of this authoritative international Organization. The need to discuss the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed under the United Nations flag in South Korea and to take an urgent decision at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly on this matter arises from the fact that the presence of foreign troops in the south of the peninsula continues to be a dangerous source of tension in this area. Speaking in the general debate at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Comrade A.A. Gromyko, touching on this question stated:

"The agenda of this session includes an item which has a direct bearing on the improvement of the situation in Asia. This is the proposal by 32 States, including the Soviet Union, on the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. The presence of those troops, which have now been there for more than two decades, represents a source of constant military and political tension in the Korean Peninsula.

Their presence is still more inappropriate under present conditions when, on the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, efforts are being made to bring about the peaceful reunification of Korea." (A/PV.2240, pp. 63-65.)

Indeed, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and President Kim Il Sung personally have done a great deal to clear away the debris of the cold war and to create a favourable political situation in Korea, promoting abroad an independent settlement of the Korean problem by the Koreans themselves without any external intervention. In 1972, as the result of an important political initiative taken by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the first steps were taken along the difficult and complicated road towards the restoration of the national unity of Korea. A dialogue was begun between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. Agreement was achieved on the setting up of a co-ordinating committee of the North and South, and meetings of this committee were held. In the North-South Joint Declaration dated 4 July 1972, general principles were enunciated for the unification of the country by peaceful means and by the efforts of the Korean people itself without any external intervention. It then remained to implement the agreement that had been achieved, and translate the agreed-upon positions of principle into practical deeds and specific measures.

It was precisely along these lines that efforts were concentrated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which had patiently and consistently adopted the policy of peaceful unification of Korea by democratic means by the Koreans themselves on the basis of the sovereign rights of the Korean people without foreign intervention.

As is evident from the last memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, known to representatives in the Assembly as document A/C.1/1048, issued in connexion with the discussion of the Korean question, the consistent policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is "to put an early end to the division of Korea and settle the internal affairs of the nation by the Korean people themselves without any interference of outside forces in accordance with the principle of national self-determination and by peaceful means" (A/C.1/1048, p. 3).

It was precisely to attain these noble goals that the proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were designed. They were made up of five points, and it was

these points which made up a genuine patriotic programme for national reunification of Korea by peaceful democratic means. The substance of this programme is to put an end to the state of military confrontation; ease tension between the north and the south; implement comprehensive co-operation and mutual exchanges between the north and the south; convene a Grand National Congress or a consultative conference with the participation of representatives of political parties, social organizations and representatives of all sectors of the population, north and south; and create a confederation. The convening of a Grand National Congress or a consultative conference was considered by the North Koreans, in present circumstances, to provide the most important means of solving the problem of the reunification of Korea by means of negotiation between north and south. In order to continue dialogue between north and south, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposed the holding of the above-mentioned Congress or conference in this very year, and the discussion at that Congress of measures to ensure co-operation and mutual exchanges between north and south in various fields, the creation of a confederation, and the solution of the problem of their joint emergence into the international arena.

The North Koreans have also recently made sincere efforts to begin talks within the framework of the Red Cross in order to solve the humanitarian problems involved in the uniting of families. As the result of talks there was agreement between the parties on important principles in this area, although, as we know, as the result of a position taken by the Seoul régime, talks on this question, too, have remained at a deadlock.

An important international political step towards the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula also resulted from the next important initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In order to create a more favourable atmosphere for the acceleration of independent and peaceful unification of the country, the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on 25 March this year, made an official proposal for the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States. It proposed, *inter alia*, the assumption of mutual obligations respecting non-aggression and the elimination of the danger of a direct armed conflict, the cessation of the arms race, the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, and also an obligation, after the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, not to transform Korea into a military or operation-

al base for any foreign State. Which of the delegations from peace-loving countries here at this session of the Assembly would venture to call these proposals non peace-loving or unconstructive?

Furthermore, in a display of genuine desire to eliminate the state of military conflict in Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, at meetings of the co-ordinating committee of the north and south, has repeatedly proposed to the South Koreans that they should conclude a peace agreement between the north and south.

In the statement of the head of delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok, once again, with the utmost frankness, candour and sincerity, a realistic programme for the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea was put forward, and in a detailed and well argued manner the fundamental content of the most important proposals of the North Koreans on this question were developed. These proposals are fully in keeping with the principles contained in the North-South Joint Declaration of 4 July 1972.

All these facts eloquently testify to the fact that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has shown no lack of initiative, good will, and readiness to proceed to the adoption of practical measures to attain effective agreement for the peaceful solution of the Korean problem. These noble efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, aimed at the peaceful reunification of Korea, enjoy sympathy and broad support throughout the world and the United Nations.

The measures of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, designed to create favourable circumstances for the settlement of the Korean problem in the interest of strengthening peace and security in the Far East, have always won and continue to win the understanding and support of the Soviet Union and all sincere friends of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Soviet Union supports that country's programme to bring about the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea.

The General Assembly, in a decision taken unanimously at its twenty-eighth session, expressed the hope that the North and the South of Korea would continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchanges and co-operation in the spirit of the three principles of national reunification in regard to which agreement was reached in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. However, this did not happen. The Seoul régime used every means in its



power to complicate, to delay, and in the final analysis to curb the process of the gradual peaceful reunification of Korea. It emerges clearly from the documents submitted and from all the facts and data adduced in the detailed and cogent statement of the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, that because of that stand by South Korea, the talks between the North and the South, and the work of the co-ordinating committee set up in 1972 have made no progress, and thus far have not yielded any practical results.

The puppet régime in Seoul, relying on the protection and support it gets from outside, is stubbornly rejecting all constructive proposals of the North Koreans. Furthermore, the Seoul militarists are continuing what has now become a habit with it and something which has in fact become its second nature: that is, its permanent system of armed provocations on the demarcation line against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. A quite definite and justified impression is being created that the militarists in Seoul are suffering from a built-in incurable military flaw, and are testing the latest forms of weaponry and military equipment, which are flowing so abundantly and constantly into South Korea.

In those circumstances, particularly conspicuous is the danger of the continuing presence and activity of foreign troops on Korean soil, which are there under the fictitious camouflage of the United Nations flag. We all know very well that foreign troops stationed under the United Nations flag in South Korea are not United Nations troops, but the troops of a single major foreign Power, the United States of America. Those troops are illegally known as the United Nations troops, and the command of those troops is illegally known as the United Nations Command.

In that regard it should be pointed out that the adoption by the Security Council, at one point, of a decision to create the so-called United Nations Force in Korea, and accordingly, the so-called United Nations Command, is illegal. It is not in accordance with the Charter since it was adopted in the absence of two permanent members of the Security Council: the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. In fact neither those troops nor the Command has any relationship with the United Nations, and this is something we all know very well too. The difference between us, the participants at this meeting of the First Committee, who all know the truth, lies in this: that some know it and openly, honestly and frankly say so, while others know it, but pretend that they do not notice it and continue

shamefully to close their eyes to this truth and to pass over this reality in silence.

It is quite obvious that the development of the healthy processes in the Korean peninsula towards the peaceful reunification of the country is being hindered by the continuing foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people. The most flagrant and heinous weapon of this interference are the foreign troops in South Korea, the 38,000-man foreign army, equipped with the latest types of contemporary weapons. Foreign troops are serving as a bulwark for those extreme reactionary forces in South Korea which, because of interests alien to the Korean people, are striving to hinder the peaceful reunification of Korea.

This is demonstrated by the unprecedented wave of terror and repression going on in the south which has been launched by the régime against the growing democratic movement of broad masses of the South Korean population who are standing up for their democratic and social rights for freedom and the peaceful reunification of Korea. The maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea is a major obstacle to peaceful reunification of their country.

In view of all those facts, it is quite obvious that the cessation of interference by imperialist forces in the internal affairs of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed under the United Nations flag in South Korea is the key to the solution of the problem of an independent and peaceful unification of Korea. The Korean people quite rightly expect from the United Nations and its General Assembly that help in ensuring the creation of favourable conditions for the independent, peaceful unification of their country without foreign interference.

The United Nations can and must help it in this just cause. It is its international duty to bring about the realization of these aspirations and hopes of the Korean people. For this, we are firmly convinced that the United Nations should direct its efforts to putting an end to foreign interference in the affairs of Korea in any form, regardless of what guise and pretext may be attempted to cover it up and justify it.

At the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the first positive step was taken along the correct lines in the Korean matter. This is demonstrated by the decision on the dissolution of the notorious, illegally constituted and totally bankrupt so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which for so long was one of

the means of interference of outside forces in the affairs of the Korean people and was used for purposes which had nothing in common whatsoever with the requirements of the United Nations Charter.

However, the General Assembly, having said A must go on to say B. It would be natural and logical, therefore, if the present session of the General Assembly were to take the second correct step in that direction and take a decision to withdraw all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag. Since the signing of the Armistice Agreement in Korea more than 20 years have gone by and the maintenance of foreign troops on Korean soil is an aggressive anachronism which cannot possibly be justified.

No references to so-called lack of trust in the north, no hostile propaganda about what is called the threat from the north can cover up and justify this aggressive anachronism which is a holdover from the times of the cold war. Nor should we forget that these foreign troops, illegally camouflaged by the United Nations flag, are being used for purposes which have nothing in common with the task of preserving and strengthening peace in the Korean peninsula and throughout the Far East as a whole.

We should also take into account the extremely important and universally known fact, that in the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there have been for a long time no foreign armed forces, not a single foreign soldier. Therefore, it is quite natural and proper to raise the question of withdrawing troops from South Korea too, so that the north and the south of that country can be on an equal footing in the consideration and solution of those problems which are of vital interest for the whole Korean people and, above all, for the question of the peaceful unification of that country. Assertions which have been repeated for so many years now from rostrums, in the United Nations, that foreign troops are allegedly necessary in South Korea because of a mythical threat from the north, cannot possibly withstand criticism. They are fallacious through and through.

We cannot help recalling our saying: "If a mother-in-law is a dishonest woman, then she will not even believe her daughter-in-law". And we all are very well aware now, from first-hand sources, of the fact, of the numerous proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and the cessation of military confrontation in Korea. The Government of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea has officially proposed, and has once again now confirmed, its readiness to agree to a substantial reduction of armed forces in the south and north to the number of 100,000 men or less on both sides.

The trumped-up and false character of the assertions of a threat from the north becomes ever clearer in the light of the fact that the Seoul régime maintains armed forces much greater in number than the strength of the army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and is feverishly continuing to equip them with the latest kind of modern weapons; and highly placed foreign representatives of a so-called United Nations Command in South Korea have more than once openly and officially stated the fact that the South Koreans are militarily superior to the north.

Furthermore, a number of representatives in the First Committee know that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is firmly and consistently pursuing a policy of peaceful reunification of Korea without the use of force, without attempting to resolve the question of the reunification of the country by military means. That unswerving, peace-loving policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been confirmed in the statement of its official representative at this session of the General Assembly. In the First Committee, in his statement of 25 November 1974, Comrade Li Jong Mok stated:

"... we are striving to convert the armistice into a durable peace in our country, and to solve the question of national reunification by peaceful means, and not in any circumstances by means of force." (2029th meeting, p. 41)

Surely that is eloquent proof of genuinely peace-loving intentions and testifies to the absence of any North Korean militarist or aggressive intentions with regard to the South.

There are those who assert that foreign troops should remain in South Korea as a kind of guarantee of the implementation of the Armistice Agreement in Korea. That too is a trumped-up and completely groundless assertion by those who prefer to live constantly in circumstances of temporary armistice rather than lasting peace, and, as indicated in the statement of its official representative, it is in fact the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that is proposing practical measures with the purpose not only of ensuring implementation of the Armistice Agreement but of converting it into a lasting peace agreement.

The North Koreans quite rightly consider that questions

that might arise after the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea could be considered and settled by means of bilateral negotiations between the military authorities of the North and the South. In the view of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, those negotiations could deal with such questions as

“guaranteeing between the north and south that forces shall not be used by one side against the other, arranging new military measures ... to implement the main provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement in order to prevent the outbreak of armed conflicts ... forming a north-south joint military commission to replace the present Military Armistice Commission; and reducing the numerical strength of the armed forces of the north and south to 100,000 or less, each, and discontinuing the arms race and the introduction of weapons from abroad, and so forth ...

“If any other organ is needed, apart from the North-South Joint Military Commission, to help preserve peace in Korea, the present Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission could be maintained, with any new necessary functions, pending the conclusion of a peace agreement between the north and the south.” (*Ibid.*, pp. 38-40, 41)

Thus the North Koreans propose the implementation of genuine guarantees for preserving peace in Korea by the Koreans themselves without foreign intervention after foreign troops have left Korean soil. Only the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea can genuinely lead to the strengthening of stability and peace in Korea, and there is no need for any guarantees.

Once again we have heard the well-worn references we have been hearing for 20 years now to the effect that the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea would help to promote stabilization of the situation in the area. Those assertions are refuted by the facts of life and by the comparatively recent history of the Korean people, which has had to undergo such cruel suffering. Indeed, if it stabilizes anything, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea stabilizes only the perpetuation of the division of a country and maintenance of a source of tension and instability in the area.

Recently some have been going about and putting forward the idea that progress in dialogue between the two parties could be promoted by the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. However, given the actual political situation in Korea,

such a step could have quite the opposite effect. The point is that the difficulties which pose an obstacle to the unification of North and South Korea and the peaceful independent resolution of the Korean problem arise not from the lack of any possibility of establishing contacts between the parties but from quite a different source — that is, the foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people that has been going on constantly for about a quarter-century. One of its manifestations is the maintenance in South Korea of foreign troops camouflaged by the United Nations flag.

Accordingly, there is nothing to justify maintaining foreign armed forces in South Korea. There are no serious arguments in favour of that, apart from the obvious desire of certain quarters both inside South Korea and outside it to perpetuate the present division of Korea and to preserve the existing situation in defiance of the expressed will of the Korean people.

The United Nations General Assembly cannot much longer accept a situation in which the United Nations flag is used by foreign troops for purposes diametrically opposed to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The General Assembly must clearly and unambiguously express the view that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea should be withdrawn. The sooner that is done, the sooner there will be progress towards the peaceful democratic unification of Korea.

We are convinced that the further normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula and the creation of conditions favourable for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country would be considerably advanced if the General Assembly adopted a clear-cut decision to withdraw from South Korea all foreign troops stationed there under the United Nations flag.

It is precisely with that goal in mind that the draft resolution sponsored by a large group of socialist and non-aligned States Members of the United Nations has been proposed. The Soviet Union is one of its sponsors. Adoption of that draft would provide convincing proof of the aspiration and desire of Member States of the United Nations to grant the Korean people the opportunity freely to decide its own destiny and itself to solve the problem of the reunification of its homeland by peaceful means on a universal democratic basis without any foreign intervention. The adoption by the General Assembly of such a decision would also be in keeping with the fundamental goals of the United Nations in the new circumstances of the easing of international tension. By so doing, the General Assembly would

make a useful and positive contribution to the cause of strengthening the process of détente, extending it everywhere, and making it irreversible.

In contradistinction to that draft resolution, the 26-Power draft nowhere provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of South Korea and is in essence designed to maintain the division of Korea. In Asia the idea of ensuring reliable security through the joint efforts of the countries of that continent is constantly gaining ground. The strengthening of security in Asia on a collective basis with the participation of all States without exception is in keeping with the spirit of the times and the interests of the peoples of that great continent. Therefore, the Soviet Union has supported and will continue to support the positive efforts of Asian States to seek reliable solutions to the problems of peace and security on that continent. There is no doubt that a settlement of the Korean problem would make an important contribution to improving the situation not only in the Far East but in Asia as a whole.

### *Speech Made on December 9*

The delegation of the Soviet Union wishes to draw the Committee's attention to the somewhat strange proposal by the representative of Barbados. From the very outset of today's discussion we proceeded from the idea that you put forward, Mr. Chairman, namely, that we should vote on both draft resolutions.

The question arose as to which should be voted on first, which should be given priority. An unjust decision was adopted; however, it was adopted and we are required to yield to it, since the majority voted for that unjust decision. But the delegation of Barbados goes further. It wishes to deprive us of an opportunity to vote on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677. On what basis, may I ask?

After all, from the very outset it was quite obvious that priority should have been given to that very resolution. The question of Korea was not included in the provisional agenda prepared by the United Nations Secretariat. In September this year a group of delegations made a proposal concerning the withdrawal from South Korea of the troops present there under the flag of the United Nations. After that, the delegations of Western countries, with the co-operation of certain countries of the third world, suddenly woke up to what was happening and introduced

another item referring to the consensus and to a dialogue. But these are different issues.

The fact that a decision has been taken that we should vote on consensus and dialogue is no reason whatever for excluding a vote on the other draft resolution, introduced by a large number of States. Mr. Chairman, we understood your introductory statement to mean that both draft resolutions would be put to the vote, and the only question was which would be voted upon first. The question of the priority in the voting has been disposed of; we are to vote on the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1 first. But disposing of that question in no way excludes the sponsors of the second draft resolution from calling for a vote on their draft resolution, because that group of States, and those Members of the United Nations which support that proposal concerning the withdrawal from South Korea of the troops present there under the United Nations flag, consider that there can be no dialogue or unification while foreign troops are present in one part of Korea.

Everyone in the First Committee and the General Assembly, and in the United Nations as a whole, is fully familiar with the fact that in North Korea there is not one single foreign soldier, while in South Korea there are 38,000 foreign troops under the United Nations flag. First, their presence there is unlawful, since the decision concerned was adopted in the absence of two members of the Security Council. This has been frequently pointed out, and it remains a fact.

Secondly, the presence of foreign troops in one of the parts of Korea establishes abnormal conditions for the holding of a dialogue and for the conducting of talks leading to reunification. The balance of forces is unbalanced, is unequal.

Here, the representative of Saudi Arabia had spoken of a tumour, but it is precisely the tumour that is in South Korea, a cancerous, malignant tumour. The general mood in the United Nations is that foreign troops should not be present on other peoples' territories.

The Soviet Union has frequently made proposals concerning withdrawal of foreign troops from other nations' territories. We insist on South Korea not having any troops, especially under the flag of the United Nations. It is precisely this tumour that compels a large group of States which have introduced this question in the General Assembly's agenda and have introduced a draft resolution on the matter, to insist on the troops there, under the fictitious flag of the United Nations, being withdrawn,



because the presence of foreign troops in one part of Korea is a genuine obstacle to the creation of normal conditions for the dialogue and for reunification.

Accordingly, it becomes necessary for both draft resolutions to be voted on. Whatever arguments might be adduced by the opponents of such an approach, the matter stands that there are two questions in the item on Korea, although they are headed by a single title, "Question of Korea".

Mr. Chairman, you have excellent practice in our work as Chairman of the First Committee of this Assembly when we discussed questions of disarmament. On a number of items, a number of draft resolutions were introduced and all of them were voted on. Consider concrete examples concerning the nuclear-free zone in South Asia. Two draft resolutions were introduced and one of them, the first one, received a majority. It would seem, therefore, that since a resolution was voted on, and adopted by a majority of the votes cast, there was no need for a second resolution. Nevertheless, both draft resolutions were voted on. And today, in this room, the plenary meeting of the General Assembly also voted for those resolutions; and both of them have now been adopted and both of them have now become documents of the General Assembly.

Therefore, what basis then is there for objecting to voting on the second draft resolution on the Korean question? There is neither any logic nor any argumentation in favour of such a proposal.

Since Friday of last week, there has been in United Nations circles much talk concerning the tyranny of the majority. Well, I personally am a victim of the tyranny of the majority. During the years of the cold war, I represented the Soviet Union; I was alone in the Security Council. Ten delegations always voted against my proposals. I protested, I complained, objected, but the tyranny of the majority pressed upon me. And then there was no question at all on the part of those who belonged to the mechanical majority; they were quite silent about the tyranny. They have started talking about it now. And the solution of the Korean matter is an example of the tyranny of the majority and of mechanical voting. This also must be borne in mind here in the course of the vote.

Solutions were forced on us in those days unconditionally, without taking into account the opinions of the minority. But has the situation changed to such an extent in the United Nations that there is any cause for complaint against the majority? No, the complaints are addressed to the third world because it is

forcing the decision. But that does not correspond to reality. Let us consider the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1. How many representatives of the third world will you find there as sponsors? Bolivia, third world; Haiti, yes, third world — Gambia, Guatemala, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Costa Rica, Lesotho, Liberia, Nicaragua, Paraguay, El Salvador, Thailand, Uruguay, Philippines, Central African Republic. After all, those are third world countries and all of them are sponsors of the draft resolution. With whom? With the United States, with the United Kingdom, with New Zealand, with Western countries. So what basis is there for complaint?

*Speech Made at the Plenary Meeting of the Assembly*

The delegation of the Soviet Union, in explanation of its vote, considers it necessary to make the following statement in connexion with the discussion of the question of Korea.

A large group of socialist and non-aligned States proposed and defended the proposal to the effect that all foreign troops illegally stationed under the United Nations flag should be withdrawn from South Korea. We are firmly convinced that the adoption by the Assembly of this proposal would undoubtedly lead to the creation of favourable conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and for a dialogue between the North and the South and for the unification of both parts of the country, without foreign interference, on a democratic basis by the Korean people themselves in accordance with their desire to see their country united, free and prosperous.

In the First Committee, in the vote on the draft resolution on the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea the votes were evenly divided. The draft was not adopted, for procedural reasons, because an identical number of votes was cast for and against the draft resolution. The delegations of those countries which prevented the adoption of this very just decision, which is in accordance with the interests of the Korean people, have incurred a very grave liability for the preservation in Korea of the present abnormal situation and for the stationing in South Korea of foreign troops and consequently for the continuation of foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people and for the covering up of this interference under the flag of the United Nations.

The discussion of this question in the First Committee enables one to draw certain important conclusions.

First, the votes of half of the delegations in favour of the draft resolution on the withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea convincingly testify to the growth of support in the United Nations for the just cause of the Korean people, who are demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops and the provision of an opportunity to Koreans themselves, without interference from outside, to resolve the problem of the reunification of their country by peaceful means.

Secondly, the discussion of this question, with the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by Comrade Li Jong Mok, the Deputy Foreign Minister, made it possible for many delegations to form a better understanding of the substance of this problem and to clarify the authentic reasons for the present anomalous situation in Korea, which is caused by the presence in the South of the country of a foreign army, and also made it possible for them to understand more clearly the means which the United Nations must use in order to provide real support for the Korean people in the creation of the necessary conditions for the peaceful reunification of the country.

Thirdly, when the interests of a socialist State are concerned, certain countries of the third world have been in the past and are now prepared to stand with the developed capitalist countries and vote for their unjust proposals even though those Powers are now accusing the countries of the third world of exercising in the United Nations what they have called "the tyranny of the majority". It is sufficient in this respect to recall such countries of the third world as the Philippines, Colombia and others.

Fourthly, it is important to draw the attention of Members to one other interesting and very important point, namely, that precisely many of those countries which voted in the First Committee for the unjust decision on the Korean question directed against a socialist country are, at the same time, the most outspoken partisans of a review of the United Nations Charter and even partisans of the elimination of the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council, known under the title of the right of veto.

If one collates the facts of the past and those of the present, then one arrives at the conclusion that the socialist countries would find it difficult, or even impossible, in the United Nations to count on the objectivity precisely of that part of the third world countries consisting of those which supported in the

past and support now those who speak in the United Nations against the interests of the socialist States.

At the same time, it is obvious to all that the right of veto for the Soviet Union and its friends, the socialist countries — and not just the socialist countries — was the main means to counter the tyranny of the mechanical majority in the past, in the years of the cold war. It is the main weapon of defence in the United Nations of the interests of those countries, at present and in the future, taking into account the real state of affairs, the deployment of forces in the United Nations and the fact that in the vote on resolutions directed against socialist countries a part of the third world States steadfastly votes in favour of such resolutions.

Consequently, the abolition of the principle of unanimity, the right of veto in the Security Council, would mean nothing other than a broad opening up of the doors for the use of the United Nations through the Security Council against the socialist States, with the active participation precisely of that part of the third world countries. That has happened in the past, it is what happened at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly on the question of Korea, and there are no guarantees that it will not happen in that way in the future.

In the light of these well-known facts, it becomes increasingly obvious that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries cannot agree with a review of the Charter and cannot fail to oppose the views of those who are actively seeking to destroy the Charter. For us, the delegations of the socialist countries, it is perfectly obvious that a radical revision of the existing Charter of the United Nations would inflict suffering particularly on the socialist States, because they would find themselves placed in an unequal position vis-à-vis the capitalist countries of the United Nations. There is also another clear truth which one must realize, namely, that if damage were done at the United Nations to the interests of the socialist States that would hardly be likely to benefit the countries of the third world.

In the light of these facts and this real state of affairs in the United Nations today, the delegation of the Soviet Union in this plenary meeting of the General Assembly will vote against the draft resolution on the radical revision of the Charter of the United Nations. It will also vote against this unwarranted draft resolution on the Korean question. We appeal to all those who are truly opposed to colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and interference in any form or manifestation in the internal affairs of other States, to vote against the unjust draft

resolution on the question of Korea, which is being foisted on the Assembly with the participation of certain third world countries. That draft resolution is contrary to the interests of the Korean people; it is harmful to the cause of the strengthening of peace on the Korean peninsula; and it is directed against the interests of a socialist State, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.



## MOULAYE EL HASSEN

### Mauritania

I am speaking on the Korean question after most aspects of the problem have been discussed at length by the speakers who have preceded me, and I had occasion myself, in the course of our debate last year, to deal with all its aspects — the historical, the military and the political. What, in fact, is at stake? For many years the United Nations has been seeking to attain the objectives which it set for itself on the Korean peninsula, namely, the re-establishment by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea within the framework of the restoration of international peace and security in the region. Our Organization has adopted resolutions all of which reaffirm those objectives.

In our debate today, while not losing sight of those objectives, the Committee must also take account of recent developments in the situation in Korea, that were clearly described to us by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose presence here we welcome. It is not my intention to describe those developments in detail once more; they are known to all. I wish only to say that a major turning point was reached with the issuance on 4 July 1972, by North and South Korea, of a Joint Communiqué which laid the basis on which the reunification of the country should and could be achieved. It was because of the uprising of the progressive forces in South Korea that the régime installed in South Korea was compelled to accept the dialogue, which North Korea had been proposing for many years with a view to seeking ways and means likely to restore the unity of the country, to which the entire Korean people aspires.

Our Organization, in taking note of the Joint Communiqué at the Assembly's 2181st meeting on 28 November 1973, endorsed the three principles on the basis of which unification was to be achieved. Because those principles are so important in the

search for a solution to and the settlement of the Korean problem, I should like to recall them briefly. They are:

First, that the reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference.

Secondly, that the reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side.

Thirdly, that great national unity should be promoted.

The agreement of the two Governments, of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the Republic of Korea, on those principles constitutes a fundamental advance on the way to a settlement of the Korean question. Now that those principles have been established, my delegation believes that it is necessary to seek the means that will lead to the attainment of the objective we seek, namely, the unification of Korea, whose people have for more than a quarter of a century been living in expectation of the restoration of their union. The way that is to lead to reunification has been mapped out by the Joint Communiqué of North and South Korea. Our duty, that of our Organization, is to assist that people to become the master of its own fate and to work out its destiny in all freedom. As is stated in the Joint Communiqué, the unification must be achieved peacefully, without foreign interference, by the Korean people themselves and through dialogue.

In its first phase the dialogue led to the publication of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. That result crowned long efforts unceasingly exerted by the revolutionary Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the progressive forces in the South. For the dialogue to be continued and to produce results, an atmosphere of détente between the two parties in Korea is needed. All obstacles to reunification must be removed, along with all elements likely to revive and perpetuate the climate of belligerency.

The withdrawal of American troops now stationed in Korea is, in our opinion, an important condition for creating that atmosphere of détente, which is the only atmosphere in which the Korean people can solve their own problems. My delegation sees no justification for the presence of these troops in South Korea. Their presence can really not be justified by the fear of a military invasion from the North because, quite obviously, if there is an invasion, it will be in the opposite direction, precisely because of the large numbers of troops in South Korea. No one among us can any longer have any doubt as to the nation-

ality of those troops: they are American, since the United States delegation itself has said so in this Committee and that of South Korea has confirmed it. How, then, can we allow our Organization to lend its flag and its name to the mythical organization which is called the United Nations High Command? Members of this Organization cannot agree to the continued use, against all common sense and in so obvious a manner, as the instrument of the policy of a single State, in defiance of the interests of the international community and of the ideals of our Charter.

Thus the attitude of the South Korean authorities seems to me even more incomprehensible. When they strive for those troops to be maintained, we wonder whether they are sincere in their desire to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and whether they wish to comply with the spirit and the letter of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which states in paragraph 7:

"The two sides, firmly convinced that the aforementioned agreed items correspond with the common aspirations of the entire people, who are anxious to see an early unification of the fatherland, hereby solemnly pledge before the entire Korean people that they will faithfully carry out these agreed items." (A/8727, p. 40)

The attitude of the South Korean authorities in regard to the withdrawal of foreign troops and their silence regarding the new proposals in the five-point programme of 23 June 1973 is not in accord with their declared intentions. Those new proposals submitted on 23 June 1973 by the President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea offer the possibility of coexistence within the framework of a confederation, which would be the melting pot for the reconciliation of all Koreans, the mechanism for the peaceful reunification of the country.

My delegation is convinced that a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South can have no chance of success under the shadow of cannon and guns. The least our Organization can therefore do in order to make possible a reduction of tension and the establishment of many-sided exchanges in every field between the North and the South is to call immediately for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

My delegation hopes that this measure, which is advocated in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 of which we are a sponsor, will be approved by all those who are concerned with strengthening peace in that part of the world.





## ABDIRIZAK HAJI HUSSEIN

### Somalia

We all know that the Korean question is one of the evil consequences of the cold war which made its impact on the 38th parallel of that much suffering country. My country, which has also suffered arbitrary division in the "scramble for Africa" by colonialists in the last part of the nineteenth century, fully understands the ordeals and disruption which the Korean nation has had to bear and wishes to express here its whole-hearted sympathy for the cause of their reunification.

I have read with keen attention the statements made before the First Committee at this session by the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea on 25 and 28 November 1974, respectively. In their statements each one of them deplored the plight of the Korean people in being divided and each one of them affirmed that the main objective in the policy of his Government and people was to realize the reunification of the Korean nation through peaceful means and without interference from outside. This is in keeping with the Joint Communiqué of the North and South Korean Governments which has been embodied in the General Assembly's consensus statement on 28 November 1973, at its 2181st plenary meeting, on the recommendation of the First Committee.

This was a praiseworthy landmark in the progress towards the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation, and it is most important that further progress should be encouraged at this session. My delegation supported the above decision on Korea which was adopted by consensus at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, because we considered this to be a useful step towards the United Nations goal of helping to create favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

There are two major considerations which my delegation

believes should guide the General Assembly in its further efforts to bring about a peaceful agreement and to promote the reunification of the North and South. One consideration is that the Korean question is essentially a legacy of the cold war — an international condition which the world has outgrown and which has now been replaced by the spirit of détente. The assumptions which produced the Korean problem were never valid ones. It was never right for a foreign Power to intervene in the internal affairs of another country in order to further its own strategic and ideological aims. That the United Nations should have lent its name to such an operation has led to one of the most unfortunate political involvements of the Organization's history. For the United Nations to continue to act on the basis of invalid assumptions after 28 years of division and 20 years of the unsettled state of armistice in Korea would be to show itself shortsighted and obstinate in its commitment to a discredited and outmoded past. Instead, the world Organization should show itself capable of a constructive and imaginative change of attitude on the Korean question.

The other consideration is that the Koreans are an independent people who cherish their strong traditions of political and cultural unity. They are fully capable of solving their problems by their own efforts. It is because of the foregoing considerations that the General Assembly, in dealing with this matter, must also be guided by the tenet that the internal affairs of each country should be settled by its own people on the principle of self-determination, and without external interference, whether direct or indirect.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, which my delegation regrets that it cannot support because of its ambiguity, states the need fully to implement the consensus of the twenty-eighth session. Actually the consensus states in paragraph 1 (a):

“The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;”

My delegation believes that the full implementation of that consensus can best be achieved by the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. The need for this withdrawal is illustrated in all three of the principles of the Korean Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which the General Assembly has noted with satisfaction. The implications of the first principle are obvious. If reunification is to be achieved independently without reliance on outside

force or interference, then all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Korean soil. There is no dispute about the fact that the troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag are exclusively American and are directed and financed solely by the United States for its own purposes. This force undoubtedly constitutes "outside forces".

The second and third principles of the Joint Communiqué stress the need for peaceful means of reunification and call for great national unity. These principles are also undermined by the threatening presence in the South of foreign troops hostile to the North and its political ideology.

It has been claimed in the past that the presence of the American forces in South Korea under the United Nations flag is necessary to protect the South from invasion by the North, and yet it is the South which is militarily superior.

The United States has tried to produce a number of "arguments" in order to justify the presence in South Korea of its troops.

In this connexion, the representative of the United States has claimed that its troops stationed in South Korea are not the "United Nations forces" but that they are troops stationed there under a "bilateral agreement", concluded between the United States and South Korea, and that the troops under the "United Nations Command" number no more than a few hundred. This statement implies that the United States troops stationed in South Korea are not bound by the Korean Armistice Agreement. In other words, the attempt by the representative of the United States to separate the United States troops stationed in South Korea from the "United Nations forces" seems to us unjustifiable from both the legal and the practical viewpoints. It further indicates that the United States tries to enable its troops to act at will in complete disregard of the Korean Armistice Agreement.

The United States also insists that the question of the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" must be referred to the Security Council for consideration.

If the United States troops, which can act at will, unbound by the Armistice Agreement, are left alone to remain in South Korea after the dissolution of only the "United Nations Command" — which, as the United States representative stated, has no more than a few hundred personnel — such a presence of United States troops will constitute a threat and will aggravate the tension in Korea.

The road to guaranteeing peace and security in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of that

country lies not in lip service to the necessity of the Armistice Agreement or mere dissolution of the "United Nations Command", but in the withdrawal of all the foreign troops under the name of the "United Nations", so that the Korean question may be left to the Korean people themselves.

The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677 fully reflects this logic and provides practical and useful elements for a peaceful and ever-lasting settlement of the Korean question.

Furthermore, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward reasonable proposals for converting the unstable armistice into a durable one in Korea, including those proposals aimed at concluding a peace agreement with the United States and the establishment of a North-South joint military commission. Convinced that the United States Government is interested in seeing that peace should one day prevail in that area, we can hardly conceive why such proposals should not be acceptable to it as well as to the other sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676.

It should be noted that it is North Korea which has made the major overtures towards the conclusion of a peace agreement and is pressing for the discussion of the basic political and military questions, whereas South Korea has proposed to tackle humanitarian problems and exchanges in sports and in the cultural, economic and social fields. My delegation hopes that the Government of the Republic of Korea will realize that the presence of an "outside force" is a major legacy of the "cold war" measures which has to be removed first if the legitimate right of the Korean nation to reunite is to be fulfilled.

My delegation is confident that the adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 and its speedy implementation would facilitate the dialogue between North and South, widen their many-sided exchanges and expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. By recognizing the necessity of withdrawing all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, the General Assembly would be supporting the removal of a major impediment to the realization of the aspirations of the Korean people. It would also be acting to support the integrity of the United Nations and to ensure the commitment of the world Organization to its own principles, thus rectifying the unfortunate situation which was created in its name a quarter of a century ago.



## B. A. CLARK

### Nigeria

In the view of my delegation, three positive developments emerged from our consideration of the question of Korea last year. Firstly, the participation in the debate by the representatives of the two integral parts of Korea, the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea and the Republic of Korea.

For years, my delegation has argued that both parties had a stake in the matter and that therefore they should be given the opportunity to be heard without preconditions. For we believe that he who seeks equity must come with clean hands. The restrained manner in which the two delegations from Korea stated their cases convinced my delegation of the wisdom of the consensus which the General Assembly later adopted at its 2181st plenary meeting on 28 November 1973.

As we took the liberty of reiterating last year, the Korean people are one and indivisible, united by ties of common heritage, culture, language, and destiny that are incarnated by centuries of a common history and shared struggles against foreign domination. A united Korean nation of 50 million strong with an area of 86,000 square miles, rich in manpower and endowed with enormous material resources, a great Power in Asia and in the world, is to be desired rather than a divided nation as it is at present.

Secondly, the decision to dissolve the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). When an institution or body founded for a specific purpose becomes a casualty of time and circumstance, it becomes a disservice to its ideals to seek to perpetuate its existence. UNCURK was such an institution — moribund and obsolescent. The South-North Joint Communiqué, issued by the authorities of North and South Korea on 4 July 1972, provided, *inter alia*, for the establishment of the North-South Co-ordinating Committee to discuss national reunification problems. This Korean

initiative, which paved the way for the first time in a quarter of a century for a meaningful dialogue of reconciliation for reunification of both the North and the South is a much better machinery for attaining the goal of national unity of Korea than UNCURK. My delegation is glad to note that the purpose of this dialogue was, and still is, to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

The third important point that emerged from our consideration of the question last year was the consensus that I have already referred to. The consensus, which was based on the three principles embodied in the Joint Communiqué issued by North and South Korea, was remarkable as much for the hope and expectation it held for the continuation of the dialogue aimed at expediting the independent peaceful reunification of Korea as for the fact that the principles were enunciated by the Korean people themselves. All true friends of Korea wished that the talks would be given a chance to succeed on the basis of those principles. Those principles, we may recall, were that the reunification of the country should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside force or its interference; that the reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; and that great national unity should be promoted.

Yet a year has passed and we are seized of the same problem without the benefit of being advised by the parties concerned that they are nearer to their national goal of unity this year than last year. In the view of my delegation, two issues face the current session of the General Assembly with respect to the question of Korea, namely, first, determination of the United Nations Command in South Korea; and secondly, preserving the spirit and essentials of the Armistice Agreement so as to ensure that peace and security continue to be maintained in Korea and in order to facilitate the reunification talks on the basis of the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.

So much has happened since the Security Council resolution 84 (1950) of 7 July 1950 that my delegation does not propose at this stage to address itself to the legality of the so-called United Nations Command in South Korea. The cablegram dated 29 June 1950 from the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary General, and the cablegram dated 6 July 1950 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to the Secretary General of the United

Nations challenging the legality of the said resolution, as well as the statements of the two great Powers and of others regarding their interpretation of the resolution since then cannot be ignored, bearing in mind the meaning of Articles 23 and 27 of the Charter of the United Nations. Yet, to go back in history is to reopen old wounds, to poison the atmosphere of détente that now exists between the two great Powers.

What my delegation would like to see is that the détente between the great Powers should also be extended to their policies towards Korea, but legal arguments as to the competence of the Security Council of General Assembly to determine the present status of the United Nations Command should not be used to defer an option that is ripe and opportune for us to take during the current session. In this connexion,

“Attention is called to paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement, which recommends to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that within three months after the signature of the Armistice a political conference be held to settle through negotiation ‘the questions of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc.’ ”. (S/3079)

The reference to paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement that I have just made is not in my words. They are the words of the Acting Representative of the United States of America in a note dated 7 August 1953, transmitting a special report of the United Nations Command on the armistice in Korea to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The United States acting representative went on to pledge on behalf of his own Government and of the 15 other United Nations Members, whose military forces were participating in the Korean action, that they would support the efforts of the United Nations to bring about an equitable settlement in Korea based on the principles which have long been established by the United Nations and which call for a united, independent, and democratic Korea.

That was 20 years ago. We think the time has come for the international community to rise above the rhetoric and policies of the cold war that have long bedeviled the Korean question, thereby recognizing that the Armistice Agreement, a military agreement between military commanders, was intended only to make possible a final settlement of the question of Korea. It had no other logic of its own.

Under the prevailing international situation, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea under the flag of the United



Nations is an anachronism. The flag of the United Nations is a symbol of peace and amity between nations. It must not be used to perpetuate the cause of a broken sword, a cause the purpose of which is no longer evident to the Organization, a cause that is neither peace-keeping nor peace-making.

The representative of Tunisia raised a very important question the other day. In consistency with Article 47 of the United Nations Charter, the Ambassador of Tunisia wanted to know the United Nations military requirements in Korea, the employment of its forces, their composition and command and so on. If the Secretary-General's reply, as we suspect, turns out to be that the United Nations Command in Korea is only an expression, a cover for the United States troops in Korea under the provisions of the Mutual Defence Treaty between the United States and South Korea, as claimed by the South Korean authorities in paragraph 41 of document A/C.1/1049 of 1 November 1974; if the reply is to the effect that since 1970 the Secretary-General of the United Nations has not received even a routine report concerning the activities of the Command, it would be best to put an immediate end to the so-called Command and thereby withdraw the flag of the United Nations from the United States troops in Korea. This should be done without delay. It should be done at this session of the General Assembly.

The termination of the United Nations Command in Korea does not, in our view, mean the invalidation of the terms and conditions of the Armistice Agreement. The agreement was to ensure a complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of armed force in Korea until a final peaceful settlement was achieved. The United Nations has a responsibility to assist the parties concerned to prevent the occurrence of incidents likely to lead to a resumption of hostilities between North and South Korea.

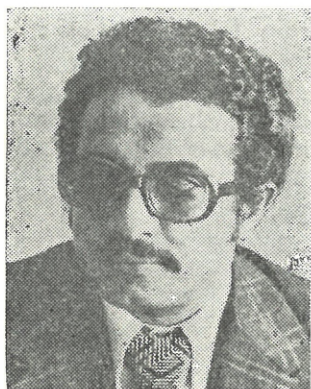
But the United Nations cannot impose unification on Korea or on any other country, for that matter. It has a duty to help. It is up to the parties concerned to exercise their right to self-determination and to resolve their domestic problems. It is up to the parties concerned to agree on the nature of assistance they require from the United Nations. Nigeria, as a faithful Member of the United Nations, stands ready to participate in any constructive programme in that eventuality.

It is against the above background that my delegation views the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.676 and A/C.1/L.677, both of 7 October 1974.

My delegation, therefore, would have been happier if a consensus similar to that of last year had emerged from the



two draft resolutions which would lead, on the one hand, to the immediate dissolution of the United Nations Command in Korea, and would at the same time, on the other hand, promote the dialogue between the South and the North of Korea that is so necessary for the attainment of the goal of peaceful reunification of Korea. My delegation does not see in this wish any contradiction of the resolution of the Conference of Non-Aligned States on the reunification of Korea, which we support.



## ABDULLA SALEH ASHTAL

### Democratic Yemen

Last year the General Assembly adopted a consensus statement on the question of Korea expressing the hope that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea would continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchanges and co-operation. My delegation subscribes to that consensus statement in the belief that further dialogue could possibly create conditions for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the peaceful reunification of that country.

Not surprisingly, the talks between the two parties were broken off in August with no tangible progress to be reported to the General Assembly. In short, we are now confronted with the same situation that has been prevailing in Korea for more than two decades.

It was the understanding of my delegation that the dialogue between the two parties was a matter concerning the Koreans themselves, that it should be undertaken without any foreign interference whatsoever, and that the dismantlement of American military bases in the south would guarantee the favourable outcome of the dialogue.

However, by their very existence foreign military troops contributed to the disruption of the dialogue. If we are to move a step ahead and to encourage the Koreans to reach a peaceful solution through dialogue, we must focus on the main obstruction to a constructive dialogue — namely, the stationing of foreign troops in South Korea.

It is naive to accept the argument that American troops in South Korea constitute a stabilizing factor on the Korean peninsula and that they are there to preserve peace and security in the area. They certainly serve the so-called security interests of imperialists in the Far East, but they do not bring peace to the Korean people.

After the withdrawal of Soviet troops from North Korea,

we cannot find any explanation for the continued occupation of South Korea by American troops. It is an established fact that South Korea is more populated and more armed than North Korea. If there is a threat to the Seoul régime it comes from the people of South Korea themselves. The American troops are therefore defending a repressive régime from internal upheaval. They are not keeping the peace in Korea. They are, rather, keeping the Government in Seoul.

*The Foreign Affairs Daily*, a United States intelligence publication, last week mentioned that from 1 July 1945 to 30 June 1973 the United States Government had extended to South Korea US\$ 6,420 million in direct military aid. Such tremendous military support has transformed South Korea into a garrison State able not only to defend itself but also to launch aggression on others. Yet the United States and its allies consider South Korea helpless prey to the so-called "southward aggression".

During the same period, 1945 to 1973, the United States pumped into South Korea some US\$ 5,551 million in economic aid, only to bolster a dictatorial régime imposed on the Korean people by force of arms. Even some American newspapers have nothing but condemnation for a puppet régime that muffles free expression and strangles the so-called democracy the United States is ostensibly defending.

It is a discredit to the United Nations that its flag is used to shelter foreign occupation of South Korea. During the heyday of imperialism and the height of the cold war foreign troops were sent to Korea under the banner of the United Nations. Whatever the reason for dispatching foreign troops to South Korea, their continued presence is now unwarranted and indeed, condemnable. Since the cold war, there has been a general relaxation of tension in some parts of the world. Major problems such as the Berlin crisis have been more or less defused. There is now loud talk about détente between the great Powers, yet Korea remains in the era of the cold war. Why is it that United States policy regarding Korea is unaffected by détente? If the United States is insensitive to the wishes of the Korean people for withdrawal, why should the United Nations become an instrument for foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people? A so-called United Nations Command directly accountable to the Pentagon cannot be tolerated by our Organization.

We are confident that the Koreans can solve their problems without external interference. Actually, one of the important elements in last year's consensus was the non-involvement of external Powers. Foreign troops stationed in South Korea can

only make it more difficult for the parties to reach a peaceful solution. Their withdrawal is therefore a necessary precondition for further progress in the dialogue.

The two parties in Korea have agreed to engage in a dialogue under the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. Let us enhance their mutual trust by removing the obstructionist foreign presence in South Korea, and then Korea can be admitted to the United Nations as a unified or confederated entity.



## ALFRED J. BELLIZZI

### Malta

Mr. Chairman, since this is the first time that my delegation has spoken in this Committee during the current session, I should like very briefly to express to you and to the officers of the Committee our sincere congratulations on your unanimous election.

Permit me also, Sir, to express to you my sincere admiration for the skill and ability with which you have been discharging the duties of your high office in conducting the work of this Committee.

Once again this year the First Committee has before it the question of Korea, and once again my delegation is honoured to sponsor a draft resolution, contained in document A/C.1/L. 677, dated 7 October 1974, which, in our reasoned view, is best calculated to serve the cause of genuine peace.

The question of Korea, one of the few remaining relics of the cold war, has so far proved impervious to the warm winds of détente. Against the explicit will of the entire Korean people, their country is still artificially divided. Of more direct concern to us is the fact that for a quarter of a century the United Nations has allowed itself to play a role in Korean affairs which it should never have assumed, and it is precisely that role, represented by the presence of foreign forces in Korea under the United Nations flag, that we wish to see brought to an end. Since the United Nations first became involved in Korea the Organization has more than doubled in membership. Today its composition is almost universal and it more faithfully reflects international opinion. The passage of time should also have enabled us to look back objectively at events which took place in earlier years. If necessary, we ought to be able to pass adverse judgement upon certain decisions taken in the past which, under similar circumstances today, would certainly not be repeated. We have no desire to reopen old wounds. We do not have to recall the full history behind the United Nations involvement in

Korea. Although our perception of the situation as it exists today must inevitably take account of the past and of past mistakes, it must be directed essentially towards the future. For that purpose we ought to make a fresh start, and those cold warriors of the past whose physical presence in Korea is a continued reproach to the United Nations must finally stand aside.

Last year, the General Assembly took a decision which, it was hoped, would move the situation in Korea on to a positive path towards peace. The dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was viewed by many as the first step towards a meaningful dialogue between North and South. Unfortunately, those hopes have not been realized, and, in my delegation's view, the reason is not far to seek. For the dissolution of UNCURK was only the first part of what should have been a twofold step. The other and complementary part of that step, which has still to be taken, is the withdrawal of foreign forces from South Korea. As I pointed out last year in my statement before this Committee, logic demanded that the United Nations military presence should have been withdrawn before, or at least simultaneously with, the dissolution of UNCURK. UNCURK was perceived by its champions as the political presence of the United Nations in Korea. Having a political role, it could come into play only after military options had been abjured and no further military role was contemplated. But although it was decided that there was no role for UNCURK to play, the military personnel were allowed to remain as if hostilities were expected to break out at any moment. In such circumstances, and especially because of the attitude of those who opposed any military withdrawal, it is not at all surprising that the North-South dialogue has failed to move forward.

However, the decision taken by the General Assembly last year finally to dissolve UNCURK was certainly an important step — even if it did not go far enough. At least it put a stop to one form of interference in Korean affairs.

Another positive achievement last year was the abandonment of the attempt to press for the simultaneous admission of North Korea and South Korea as separate Members of the United Nations. Such a prospect was rightly seen to lead towards perpetuating the division of the country. Instead, the Assembly paid a tribute to the three principles of national reunification which had been solemnly proclaimed by the North and the South in their Joint Statement of 4 July 1972. On the basis of

these three principles, namely, independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, hopes ran high for the realization of the Korean people's goal of reunification.

When the Democratic People's Republic of Korea put forward its five-point proposal for national reunification in June last year, it was a serious effort to translate into practice the North-South Joint Statement. It called essentially for the cessation of the state of military confrontation and the easing of tensions, the launching of a programme of collaboration in many fields between the North and the South, the convening of a Great National Congress, and the creation of a North-South Confederation which would enter the United Nations as one single entity. Those proposals fully meet the universal desire — from which nobody dissents — for peaceful reunification.

It must be said, however, that while the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has spared no effort to attain this goal, the same cannot be said for others whose attitude suggests that they prefer to make permanent the division of Korea whilst paying lip service to the principle of reunification. This attitude is engendering deep resentment amongst the entire Korean people, of which the political unrest in South Korea is a visible expression. My Government fully understands the yearning of the Koreans for reunification and it condemns every attempt to delay or undermine its attainment.

It is clear to my delegation — as it must be to many in this hall — that the major obstacle to progress was and is the presence in South Korea of a substantial number of foreign forces under the flag of the United Nations. Is it possible that, in the light of present realities, any lingering doubt could still persist that there is no justification today for the United Nations flag and the troops it shelters to remain on Korean soil? It has been claimed that the withdrawal of those forces would jeopardize the continuation of the Korean Armistice Agreement. My delegation for one finds it difficult to take that argument seriously.

In the first place, it is pertinent to ask why has there been no progress, during all these years, to move from a state of armistice to a state of peace. By definition, an armistice is only a truce, a temporary cessation of hostilities, and it makes no sense to attach more importance to an armistice than to a lasting peace.

But while the overtures of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to conclude a peace agreement have been rebuffed, every conceivable argument is adduced to prevent progress on the plea that it may prejudice the existing armistice. If there

has been no advance from armistice to peace in the past two decades, a major portion of the blame must be attached to the continuing presence of foreign forces and to their destabilizing influence on the situation. In any event, my delegation considers that if foreign troops are withdrawn — as they should be — in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly, the resolution itself should provide an adequate guarantee for the preservation of peace in Korea.

No one seriously believes that the armistice has been preserved in Korea because of the presence in South Korea of foreign forces. After all it was those same foreign forces that were involved in the Korean War. If there has been no renewal of hostilities since that time it is because of the commitment of the Korean people, underpinned by the policies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to the cause of peace and peaceful reunification. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea can only add impetus to that cause. Conversely, their continued presence can only thwart it. For, in fact, the Armistice Agreement itself envisaged the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea after the cease-fire. The continued presence of foreign forces is therefore a violation of the Armistice Agreement, as it is likewise a violation of the three principles of the North-South Joint Statement, which called for peaceful reunification without foreign interference.

The claim that those foreign troops are in South Korea to defend it against the alleged aggressive designs of the North simply cannot be taken seriously. It is difficult to accept that the South, with double the population of the North, should seriously feel threatened. It is even more difficult to accept that, with regular armed forces reportedly totalling nearly three quarters of a million armed men, the South needs the protection of another 40,000 foreign troops, more or less, in order to ensure its security.

One is forced to the conclusion that the presence of those foreign troops, armed with the most modern offensive weapons, is designed to promote other interests which are hardly in accord with the interests of the Korean people or with the interests of the overwhelming majority of Member States.

At the fourth non-aligned summit held in Algiers last year, the assembled Heads of State and Government unanimously adopted a resolution which called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and the cessation of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea. That call has been echoed by many



speakers during the general debate in the plenary Assembly and during the debate in this Committee at the current session of the General Assembly. It is a call which must be headed, for it is a genuine call for peace which the vast majority of mankind have made their own. It is for this reason that my delegation is confident that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 will not fail to be adopted by a large majority.

With regard to this draft resolution, my delegation would like to stress that the Committee has two different subitems before it. The first, item 104 (a), is entitled "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed under the flag of the United Nations". The second is item 104 (b), entitled "Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula". Item 104 (a) was proposed for inclusion in the Assembly's agenda in document A/9703 of 16 August 1974, whilst item 104 (b) was proposed only on 3 September 1974, in document A/9741. The draft resolution in A/C.1/L.677 is the first and only one which addresses itself to item 104 (a), and my delegation commends it for the support of this Committee.



## IMRE HOLLAI

### Hungary

This is not the first time that my delegation, with the majority of the delegations present, has expressed its satisfaction at the growing number of signs bearing evidence of the steadily widening scope of co-operation among States having different social systems, as a result of the efforts of peace-loving peoples. In the general debate in the General Assembly, practically every speaker relied upon the facts when stressing the necessity of furthering international co-operation; for mutual trust, as well as serious consideration of the problems awaiting solution, can prevent the existing differences of opinion from leading to a conflict threatening a new world conflagration. This trend is today called peaceful coexistence, not only by the socialist countries that first initiated this process, but also by many others in this conference room, and we all benefit by it. But this trend can also be called the only reality of our times, so full of contradictions as it is. To strengthen it further we have to join forces and eliminate all vestiges of the cold-war period, among them first of all the unsolved question of Korea, which is a disgrace to the community of nations because the illegal stationing of foreign troops in South Korea is a constant source of tension and an obstacle debarring the situation in Asia from improving as it already has in other regions of the world.

In its statement made in this Committee at last year's session my delegation reviewed the main events of the inglorious past history of the United Nations in regard to the question of Korea, and concluded by stating that the difficulties blocking the way towards the peaceful reunification of the forcibly divided Korean people were being removed, and that what we expected from the United Nations was nothing less than to contribute to this. That is the historic duty of our Organization because more than a quarter of a century ago, yielding to pressure from the United States, then aspiring for world hegemony, it wronged the

long-suffering Korean people by dividing it into two parts. What really happened was that the United States at that time involved the United Nations in the realization of its own aims.

On the road towards the definitive liquidation of the burdensome heritage of the United Nations, the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session took the first step by deciding to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, at the same time expressing the hope that the two parts of the country would continue their dialogue and efforts according to the three principles of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. Events of the past year have proved that this one step—the political importance of which is today contested by no one, least of all by the two sides concerned—has not been and could not be sufficient for the definitive and complete solution of the question of Korea. In seeking the underlying causes, I should like to emphasize strongly that the blame cannot in the least be put upon the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has renewed its efforts to continue the dialogue and to remove the obstacles to a solution.

Hungary has been united traditionally in close friendship with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea ever since its formation. Just as in the past, my country will in the future give the Democratic People's Republic of Korea the best assistance it can to promote its progress, as we highly appreciate its socialist policy of peace which is a significant contribution to the strengthening of the ideas of peaceful coexistence. We are sincerely pleased with the considerable results it has achieved in the field of economic development and in the material and cultural advancement of its people.

My Government holds the view that it is necessary to comply immediately with the just demand that the greatest obstacle to the peaceful reunification of the Korean people be eliminated, and therefore my delegation has joined 38 others in sponsoring the draft resolution under the item entitled "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". In the Assembly's general debate the Foreign Minister of my country stressed the need for the United Nations to contribute to this end:

"My Government supports the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards the peaceful unification of the country. It hopes that the United Nations will also do its share, that it will not tolerate any further abuse of its flag after a quarter-century, and that it also

will get all foreign troops withdrawn as soon as possible.”  
(A/PV.2260, p. 50)

We all know full well what purpose the establishment of a United Nations Command served over a quarter of a century ago, when the Security Council, in gross violation of the United Nations Charter, backed up the United States aggression. The Security Council has never appointed a Commander to that Command, nor has it asked the Command to render account of its work. Neither has it been interested to know what units make up the so-called United Nations forces stationed in South Korea or who pays those troops.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea under the United Nations flag is inadmissible, for it constitutes United Nations interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people, hinders the implementation of the principles of peaceful reunification and national unity, and obstructs efforts to promote the interests of the entire Korean people.

The complete liquidation of the vestiges of imperialist aggression, the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the dismantling of foreign military bases in South Korea would comply not only with the common desire of the peace-loving peoples of the world but also with an imperative demand of our times. Every people has the inalienable right to choose its own road of peaceful progress, independently, without outside interference. In view of the outstanding achievements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and being aware of the entire Korean people's manifest desire for peaceful unification, my delegation firmly believes that compliance with the above demand cannot be put off any further.

The Hungarian delegation welcomes and supports the conceptions and proposals made known to us all by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is our task, by putting an end to foreign interference — to United Nations interference, that is to say — to help the entire Korean people to realize its aspiration for unification.

The Hungarian delegation hopes that the community of nations, recognizing the legitimate interests of the Korean people and furthering the noble purposes of the world Organization, will once again prove its ability to contribute to the cause of peace and security by eliminating this source of international tension.



## **IBRAHIM SULEIMAN DHARAT**

### **Libyan Arab Republic**

Once more the General Assembly is considering the question of Korea, and we would have hoped that the two parties concerned would have arrived in 1974 at a solution of that problem on the basis of the Joint Communiqué signed on 4 July 1972 and of the consensus reached by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session. Yet to our deep regret, this optimistic hope has not been fulfilled.

In the course of this year no concrete progress has been achieved towards the realization of the objectives mentioned in the Joint Communiqué and the consensus. I do not wish to review here the causes that impeded such progress for they have been mentioned in full detail and clarity in the comprehensive statement of the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 25 November last.

The fact that the United Nations discusses the question of Korea every year gives rise to various queries on the role of the United Nations and its involvement in the problem. I do not wish here to review the history of this problem nor the involvement of the United Nations. Yet I have a few observations to make regarding the question itself and the views of my delegation.

We all realize that the question of Korea has been with the Organization since the very beginning and was one of the manifestations of the cold war between the two camps. Despite the fact that over 25 years have elapsed, this problem has still not been resolved, and imperialism still engages in various manoeuvres in order to maintain its presence and influence on the Korean peninsula, even if it has to resort to the United Nations as a cover for its manoeuvres. The struggle of the Korean people to achieve reunification independently and peacefully, away from any foreign forces or interference was the focal point in the Joint Communiqué issued by the South and North on 4 July

1972, as well as the consensus adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973.

Yet despite the fact that the parties have agreed on the principles laid down in the Joint Communiqué, they have not progressed towards the implementation of the points mentioned therein, and we are well aware of the main causes that have impeded, and still impede, the realization of the objectives of the Korean people and their aspirations to national reunification and reconstruction of their country and to live in peace away from foreign influence. The most significant of these causes, in our view, is the presence of foreign troops in South Korea under what is misleadingly called the flag of the United Nations, whose name was brought in when the Security Council decided in 1950 and in certain international circumstances to send military troops to the Korean peninsula. Events during the past two decades have proven that the presence of such troops has impeded the efforts of the Korean people towards reunification and has undermined the prestige of the United Nations since acts of aggression are still being exercised in its name against the Korean people.

The General Assembly has realized this bitter truth after the passage of over a quarter of a century and has accordingly sought to take the first step to rectify the situation. This was decided at the last session when it decided to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The next practical and essential step would be the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops or to be more accurate, United States troops, stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. The presence of these troops is but a consolidation of the splitters' ends in South Korea and a consolidation of the artificial partition that has been imposed on the Korean people against its will. The acts of aggression committed by these foreign troops and their continued presence in South Korea under the name of the United Nations constitutes a flagrant violation of the Charter and is considered an open interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and an attempt to impose the partition of the country against the will of the Korean people for reunification. The time has come for Members of the United Nations to put an end to this flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and to make the United Nations play a concrete role in restoring peace to Korea and in the reunification of the Korean people to enable it to occupy its appropriate place among the peoples of the world.

The argument we heard from some delegations in the course

of the general debate to the effect that withdrawal of these foreign troops from South Korea would threaten the Armistice Agreement of 1953 and upset the military balance in the area and consequently would threaten peace and security in the Korean peninsula is weak and unfounded and is another means of using the name of the United Nations to perpetuate the presence of foreign troops in South Korea to safeguard the dictatorship dominating South Korea and to maintain the imperialists' interests in the area.

Here we should like to raise the question whether the régime in South Korea really represents the truth about the Korean people in the southern part, and whether it really depends on the will of the Korean people. If so, why would it refuse the withdrawal of foreign troops? The rejection of the withdrawal and its insistence on the presence of these troops is clear evidence of the true nature of this régime and of its dependence on the United States of America. The attempt to refer the matter to the Security Council for consideration is but another attempt to perpetuate the status quo.

The people of the Libyan Arab Republic is among those peoples who firmly believe in the principle of the unity of peoples, and accordingly will fully support the efforts of the Korean people in its just struggle for national reunification and the elimination of the artificial partition imposed upon it by force for over two decades. The Joint Communiqué of 1972 and the principles present therein are but a clear affirmation of the true desire of this people for reunification through peaceful means and without any foreign interference. The peoples of this Organization should seek to eliminate all obstacles and difficulties which impede the realization of the lawful aspirations of the Korean people.

The attempts at making the two parts of Korea join the United Nations separately is but another manifestation of the policy of imposing partition on peoples. We find that it will only serve to consolidate this geographic and political division, and would make it difficult to reunify the people after having the two parts of Korea join the United Nations separately. To say that there is nothing that would impede the reunification of Korea after this step would be rather illogical.

In conclusion, I should like to say that my delegation is among the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, and we consider that this draft resolution is truly expressive of the desire of the Korean people for reunification and of its view regarding the presence of foreign troops in South

Korea which constitutes the main obstacle impeding the dialogue and constructive talks between North and South for the reunification of the country through peaceful means.

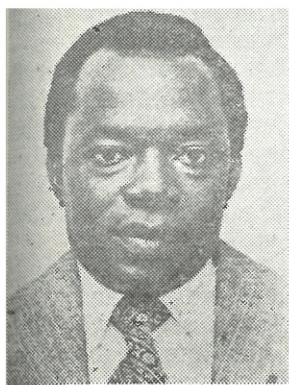
Hence, the withdrawal of such troops is essential to the achievement of this noble task and to the implementation of the lofty principles of the Charter.

This draft resolution attempts to eliminate a major obstacle to the resumption of talks between North Korea and South Korea. It leaves it to the parties directly concerned, after the removal of that obstacle, to adopt the necessary and appropriate measures to solve their problems related to the withdrawal of these troops stationed in South Korea.

We believe that in adopting this draft resolution the General Assembly will be taking an important and basic step towards the realization of the aspirations and objectives of the Korean people, as indicated in the 1972 Joint Communiqué. It is not true that, as some speakers here have said, the adoption of this draft resolution would constitute an obstacle to the implementation of the objectives of the Joint Communiqué.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 would refer the matter to the Security Council for consideration in due course. We do not know when this "in due course" is to be. Perhaps it would be at a time convenient to the imperialist Powers — that is, once they had achieved their own designs. In our opinion, this draft resolution will perpetuate the presence of United States troops in South Korea against the will of the Korean people. That is particularly true because certain Powers use their veto in the Security Council to frustrate the will and desires of struggling and militant peoples, against the wishes of the majority of United Nations Members. The attitude adopted by certain permanent members of the Security Council towards the expulsion of the racist South African régime is a very clear indication of the abuse of the right of veto.





## KHALID YOUNIS KINENE

### Uganda

One of the most tragic and painful issues of which this Organization has been seized during the past two decades has been that of a divided Korea and the inevitable consequence of that unfortunate situation. The fate of the entire people of Korea, both in the North and in the South, is yet another glaring example of the imperfect and cruel world in which we live. It is disturbing testimony to the consequences of imperial and foreign interference in the affairs of men and nations whose only crime is either the size of their territory or a determination to shape their destiny in a manner befitting their needs and aspirations. My delegation feels both pain and emotion about the question of Korea because we represent a small nation and, like the people of Korea, we value our sovereignty and independence and cherish our sacred right to shape the destiny of our country and people, without interference from any quarter whatsoever, in a manner we deem appropriate.

The persistence of the Korean question remains, in the view of my delegation, a direct defiance of the very basis of our noble Charter. The right of peoples and nations alike to decide freely and without undue interference from foreign sources is sacred and enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is therefore incumbent upon us as Member States, and indeed upon the United Nations itself, in discussing the Korean question to put courage before vacillation and duty before prejudice in facing up to the realities and the illusions of the Korean question. We must vindicate the trust and faith which nations and men have placed in the United Nations.

In the view of my delegation, the experience of the people of Korea in the last two decades or so poses a serious and grave challenge to the sovereignty, integrity and indeed peaceful existence of all small nations of the world. It is thus logical and appropriate that Uganda, both as a small nation and as a Member

of this Organization, should express its concern over the issue and call for an urgent, just and permanent solution to the agonizing Korean problem. The Uganda Government believes — and believes with abundant conviction — that the Korean problem is initially a Korean affair. That being the case, we believe that a meaningful solution, a solution permanent in nature, must of necessity take into full account the wishes and aspirations of the entire people. That, in the view of my delegation, can be achieved only by the non-interference by anybody in the affairs of the entire people of Korea.

Thus, my delegation is convinced that non-interference in the affairs of Korea is a fair and just basis on which a meaningful solution can be found. We therefore join the other peace-loving nations in calling for the immediate and total removal of foreign troops stationed on Korean territory under the flag of the United Nations. It is a fact that the United States of America maintains its forces in South Korea, and we call upon that nation to disengage those forces from Korean soil. Their presence, in the view of my delegation, runs counter and is diametrically opposed to all the efforts both by this Organization and by the Korean people themselves to establish a meaningful dialogue with a view to establishing a meaningful solution to the Korean problem.

My Government has always stood firm in opposing injustices anywhere and in any form, resulting as they normally do from foreign domination and occupation. We do not need to be reminded of the consequences of such obnoxious and cruel situations, for, like many other nations represented here, we know them only too well.

The Korean people are entitled to an atmosphere that is conducive to fair judgement in discussing their destiny. We must give them all the necessary encouragement. We cannot do so by allowing foreign troops to police their destiny against their wishes. Furthermore, with our past experience, we cannot allow such a force to come from an imperialist super-Power by the name of the United States of America. For rarely do the interests and goals of an imperial Power coincide with the wishes and aspirations of the indigenous people, and Korea is no exception.

This in fact has been the tragedy of the Korean people. In calling for immediate removal of foreign forces from Korean territory, we do so as part and parcel of our policy of total rejection of imperialism and colonialism, for this we believe is the only way small nations can survive, shape and sustain

their destinies in accordance with their aspirations and in a manner they deem appropriate.

In a world so interdependent, we cannot be indifferent to situations or tragedies simply because of geographical distance, for we believe that the consequences of a threat or combat beyond our borders will inevitably affect us. Thus we equally believe that any peace that dawns on the troubled parts of the globe is an achievement for the international community which must be valued and saluted by all.

The Uganda Government, in calling for a just and fair solution to the Korean problem based primarily on the withdrawal of foreign troops and strict non-interference by external forces in the affairs of the peoples of Korea, does so in the supreme regard and high esteem we hold for both the people of South and North Korea. We maintain economic, cultural and social links. Thus we believe that encouragement for the peoples of Korea to establish a dialogue among themselves in their efforts to solve their problems and reunite their motherland is a noble duty that we should resolve to fulfil individually and collectively.

The Uganda delegation, like the rest of the members of the international community, received with optimism and satisfaction the Joint Communiqué issued by North and South Korea on 4 July 1972. It raised our hopes and expectations because the communiqué provided what, in the view of my delegation, was a fair basis for an eventual peaceful unification of Korea. Let me, with the indulgence of the Committee, recall the important principles contained in the communiqué: first, that reunification should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside forces or interference; secondly, that reunification should be realized by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; thirdly, that the reunification should be realized by promoting great national unity as one nation transcending the differences of ideology, ideas and systems.

These principles of national reunification of Korea constitute a fair and reasonable basis on which both the North and South should seek an amicable settlement in their endeavour to reunite their homeland. This is indeed a development and a step in the right direction. It is a development that must be encouraged, and the role of the United Nations is clear, and that is to assist in this direction. My delegation noted with satisfaction the encouraging step our Organization took to promote these principles.

The dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was a very significant

decision and a step in the right direction because it helped to disengage the United Nations unfortunate involvement in the Korean affair. It is further gratifying that the decision was adopted by consensus, as was the hope expressed at the time that North and South Korea should continue their dialogue and that we on our part should strive to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of South and North.

It has always been the belief of the Uganda Government that the unfortunate division of Korea was artificial and temporary. It was neither designed nor meant to be permanent. It is an undisputed fact that the division of Korea into two parts at the 38th Parallel and the present demarcation line fixed by the Armistice Agreement of July 1953 was not intended to constitute a permanent frontier between two distant countries, but was rather a temporary military line or measure awaiting a political settlement through negotiation, which would involve the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korean soil and the peaceful reunification of that nation. But, alas, due to outside intervention, the political conference was never held and the foreign military presence became a sad reality, and so did the unfortunate division of Korea.

This unfortunate situation has continued to manifest itself in the deplorable presence of foreign forces on Korean soil.

As clearly outlined in the draft resolution before the Committee in document A/C.1/L.677, of which Uganda is a sponsor, our concern and call for the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations is timely, legitimate and right. Their presence remains the major obstacle to a peaceful solution of the Korean problem and it is an insult to the dignity of our Organization and, indeed, a violation of the principles of our sacred Charter. The Korean people have a right, like any other nation, to decide on their destiny without foreign molestation, and this right can neither be mortgaged nor suppressed. It is a right we individually and collectively must strive to promote and protect. It is an inevitable right and, indeed, a sacred right.

In the view of my delegation, not to respect that right is tantamount to a great insult to the dignity and the total intelligence of the people of Korea. Thus the continued presence of foreign troops in Korea is a cruel act and a great injustice to the cause and the aspirations of the Korean people. It is a great burden on all peace-loving peoples of the world who sincerely wish to see peace and unity in that part of the world. We thus call for, and support very strongly, the withdrawal of foreign

troops from Korea and we deplore in the strongest terms the fact that such forces are being kept there in the name of our Organization.

Peace in the area is an integral part of peace on the entire continent of Asia, and we would be betraying the trust of men and compromising with our own principles if we called for anything less than the total withdrawal of foreign troops and a negotiated reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves.

This Organization has a commitment and a duty towards the people of Korea. It is a duty which we must never shirk or abdicate. The duty is to assist the people of Korea in fulfilling their legitimate and long overdue aspirations of attaining the peaceful reunification of their beloved homeland. In that process, therefore, if and when the need arises to give some military assistance in accordance with the wishes of the Korean people, then such assistance must come from the non-aligned countries. That, if it ever becomes necessary, is the only source from which such assistance could be obtained.

Lastly, we hope that our deliberations in this Committee will lend new meaning and strength to the call for a peaceful solution to the Korean problem.



## MUSTAFA MEDANI

### Sudan

Mr. Chairman, as I arrived only recently in New York to represent my country as its permanent representative to the United Nations I have not yet had the pleasure of offering my personal congratulations to you on your election to the Chair, and also to the officers of the Committee. A member of my delegation had that honour. May I associate myself with his words of congratulations, while looking forward to closer co-operation between ourselves and our two delegations.

The United Nations has this year again to deal with one of the residual items of the cold war. The Korean question was brought to the United Nations to cover up a military intervention and to implicate this Organization by means of a myth known as the United Nations military presence in Korea. In June 1950 a Security Council resolution — resolution 82 (1950) — was manipulated to cover up that intervention. The Council, being unable to act under Article 42 of the Charter, recommended by resolution 84 (1950) that Member States should

“... furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the [so-called] armed attack ...” and invited the United States to establish a unified command.

Each and every delegation knows the influence mustered by that super-Power which was then called upon to establish the so-called unified command. We all know the situation in the Security Council at that time. One Power was absent because another Power was denied its rightful and lawful rights in the Organization. The result was that the United States had a free hand in the Security Council, with the support of its allies, to intervene in Korea. The United States assumed the major responsibility in that intervention. There has never been a prepared plan of a collective nature on the part of this Organization. That is testified to by the composition of the forces, their equip-

ment, the planning of the operations and the commanders of the so-called United Nations forces. It is true that some other States did send detachments to Korea, but those were a mere token contribution to a force of 800,000 soldiers.

It was not only in Korea that grievous wrong was committed in the name of the United Nations. It is regrettable to note, in this respect, that the flag of the United Nations has on other occasions been stained with the blood of the innocent. However, the United Nations sometimes recognizes those mistakes and those wrongs, although too late, and tries to redress them.

After the adoption of that fraudulent resolution 82 (1950) by the Security Council, the General Assembly took some measures to avoid situations in which the Organization's name might be used for purposes and objectives other than those of the Charter. The unilateral intervention of one Power in Korea prompted the Assembly to pass the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, by which it recommended that member States maintained within their national forces elements so trained, organized and equipped that they could promptly be made available for any United Nations operations. It is worth mentioning that the then Secretary-General, when the so-called United Nations intervention was planned in Korea, suggested the establishment of a committee on co-ordination and assistance to Korea, but that Power which had intervened in the name of the United Nations declined to agree to the suggestion. The collective nature of the direction of the affairs of the United Nations forces was provided for in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution and in subsequent General Assembly resolutions on United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The United Nations had not been called upon to act in Korea, and the action taken by the Security Council and the Assembly was illegal, since it was taken against the will of a substantial part of the Korean people. The decision to intervene in Korea was not taken as a result of consultations with the Korean people. Indeed, a substantial part of the Korean population considered the United Nations intervention high-handed and unjust. Not only did they oppose the so-called United Nations intervention but they fought the armies that intervened in its name. They have rightly rejected the United Nations claim of trusteeship over their land and their affairs.

When we argue that the United Nations did not intervene in Korea we have reasons to justify our claim. The memories of the so-called United Nations commanders in Korea provide glaring testimony and support the contention that the United

Nations played no role in that intervention. General Mark Clark, in his book *From the Danube to the Yalu*, has been abundantly clear in that respect. General Clark, when he succeeded General Ridgway, described how he was briefed in every detail in Washington and how, when United Nations Secretary-General, Trygve Lie,

“... asked me to come to see him in New York, I had to tell him that I was obliged to decline because of lack of time.”

And it was only after several contacts that General Clark met Mr. Lie.

What irony. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, who by virtue of the provisions of the Charter has a role to play in peace-keeping operations, pleading with the so-called United Nations commander to meet with him. It was General Clark, the so-called United Nations commander, whom we quoted last year, who said:

“The United Nations has not the capability of carrying out any of the high-flown decisions that it makes. I was the Commander-General of the United Nations Forces in Korea, and I do not recall getting orders in whatever form from the United Nations during the entire war ... No, I would not count on the United Nations for anything.”  
(1958th meeting, p. 41)

Indeed, we have been told that the Security Council at the time of the Korean war was informed of the operations of the United Nations Forces in Korea by mere press releases. But despite all that we have been led to believe that it was United Nations forces that intervened in Korea.

My delegation would like to venture to inquire about those so-called United Nations forces in Korea. What is the number of those forces? How are they composed? What are their plans? How are they deployed? What sort of equipment do they possess? How frequently does the Secretary-General of this Organization receive reports relating to those forces? How frequently does the Security Council — which passed resolution 82 (1950) — convene to review the situation of those forces? Is the deployment of nuclear arms in Korea part of the responsibility of the so-called United Nations forces or have they been deployed there in accordance with the provisions of the so-called Mutual Defence Treaty of 1954 between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America? My delegation would be grateful to those who believe that this Organization has intervened in Korea if they would be good enough to supply us with adequate replies.



We inquired last year about those forces and we have received no reply. The reply given yesterday by the Secretariat was neither adequate nor satisfying.

On the other hand, it has often been claimed that the United Nations is in Korea to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and to achieve the full restoration of international peace and security in the area.

Let us assume for the sake of argument that the United Nations did intervene in Korea with those declared aims; and let us question which of those aims have been achieved. Has the United Nations achieved peace and tranquillity, while opposing armies are facing each other in the area? Have armaments been reduced? Has the United Nations achieved a reduction of tension — while we hear conflicting reports from either side on a number of violations which each side claims against the other? How can we forget that some of the Korean peninsula has been turned into a military camp? How can we fail to mention that Korean youths have been sent to support foreign intervention in other lands, while part of their country has been turned into a staging post for espionage activities?

It has been claimed that the intervention by the Organization has achieved peace in Korea. Well, peace has been achieved in bloodier conflicts in other parts of Indo-China, but without United Nations assistance.

On the question of unity it is fitting to inquire what sort of unity the United Nations has achieved while Korea has remained divided for almost 30 years.

On the issue of instituting a democratic representative Government in Korea we have reason to believe that the opposite has been achieved in that part of Korea where the so-called United Nations intervention occurred. We all recall the popular uprising that toppled the régime of Syngman Rhee, who had dominated affairs in southern Korea for such a long time, because of its unrepresentative character. As for the present situation in that part of the country, news media tell us daily of gross violations of fundamental human rights, horrifying cases of suppression of liberty which are reported even by news media sympathetic to the present régime in southern Korea. It is perhaps sufficient to note that the United States Foreign Relations Committee has recommended a sharp reduction in military aid to southern Korea because of the repressive nature of the Park régime. It seems to us that history is going to repeat itself in that part of the world.

The myth of the so-called United Nations intervention in Korea has been nothing but a design to serve the international strategic objectives of a super-Power. The United Nations has been used to sanction such intervention. Security Council resolution 82 (1950) has not provided the necessary legal alibi. But it is time for this Assembly to call a spade a spade. To the Sudan delegation the military forces in Korea are not United Nations forces, and, even if we agree for argument's sake that there have been United Nations forces in that area, we doubt the wisdom of their deployment there. Why should the Republic of Korea, with a population of 34 million people and an army of 700,000 equipped with sophisticated modern weapons, need United Nations protection even now 30 years later? *The New York Times* states in one of its issues:

"So long as Seoul has the loyalty of its people, it would be extremely foolhardy for the north to attempt to topple the south with its own limited power, even if the south lacked American military support. South Korea has roughly twice the population of the north, and, except for its air force, a considerably larger military machine. Economically, the south has probably been moving ahead in recent years more rapidly than the north. If attacks by the north were all that the south had to fear, it would probably have no need for American military aid."

We could quote many authoritative and educated opinions on military strategy to show that southern Korea has a larger army than the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Why then is the United Nations there? Moreover, the presence of the United Nations Force in Korea is against the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement, which calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. If foreign troops have been withdrawn from the northern part of the country, it is incumbent upon those who maintain troops in the south to withdraw them.

My delegation was heartened to listen to the statement of His Excellency Mr. Li Jong Mok, Chairman of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, reiterating his country's readiness to negotiate and sign a peace agreement with the United States, and discuss with the South the non-use of force against each other. Furthermore, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is apparently ready to remove the state of confrontation, to consider reduction of armaments and troops and to establish a joint North-South military commission replacing the so-called United Nations Command. Such an important policy statement is, in our opinion, a good reply to those who consider

the withdrawal of the so-called United Nations forces as a threat to peace and security in the region. Why should it be assumed that it is either United Nations trusteeship or war and chaos in Korea?

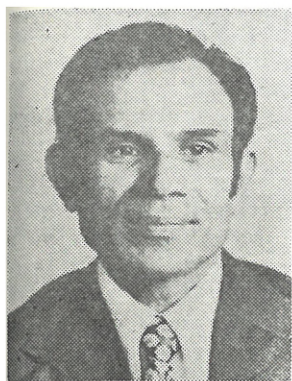
The Korean Peninsula began to see relative tranquillity when the two sides decided to open a dialogue. The Joint Statement of July 1972, signed by the two parties, revolves around one issue, that is, unity, which must be achieved through a peaceful dialogue and without any foreign interference. Last year our consensus was based on those same principles. If one party to the conflict demands the renunciation and removal of foreign interference, then it has acted within the spirit of the Joint Statement and in accordance with the General Assembly's consensus adopted last year. If that is not the case, we should like to know what is the meaning of the word "independence" in the Joint Statement and in the United Nations consensus.

Last year this Assembly, by adopting the consensus, was able, *inter alia*, to dissolve UNCURK, the agency that operated on behalf of the United Nations, intervening in the internal affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. By so doing the Assembly affirmed that peace and unity in the Korean Peninsula are the internal affairs of the country and its people. Now it is left to this Assembly to move a step forward and put an end to the last traces of foreign intervention in Korea. It is our duty to achieve a total withdrawal of those foreign troops stationed in Korea under the United Nations flag. It is shocking to hear of a design to dissolve the United Nations Command in Korea, leaving those foreign troops under a different cover, that is, the mutual defence treaty between the United States and Korea.

When those armed forces intervened in Korea, they had not been invited; they were not there in the name of the United States of America. They have been stationed in Korea in the name of this Organization. It has been claimed that foreign troops are in Korea to deal with the special situation in the area. But the same situation exists today as existed in the past. The cherished goals of peace and unity are still to be realized. We have long been arguing that the United Nations, in order to help the people of Korea, must withdraw the foreign elements that intervened in the name of the Organization. But withdrawal does not mean a symbolic gesture of lowering the flag and folding the uniform. Withdrawal of troops operating in the name of the United Nations means to us evacuating those troops from Korean soil.

The Sudan delegation maintains that the Power which intervened in Korea in the name of the United Nations should not be allowed to resort to a unilateral decision to keep those forces in that land. If such a development were to be allowed, it would amount to redressing a grievous wrong committed by this Organization by committing another grievous mistake.

Foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea. This is the legitimate demand of the people of Korea — or, at least, it is the demand of a very substantial number of the Korean people. To put an end to foreign presences and foreign interventions is the slogan of the hour in the third world. It is high time to wash the stains of infamy from the name of the United Nations. That is why we have introduced the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677.



## SHAILENDRA KUMAR UPADHYAY

### Nepal

Expressing the satisfaction of my delegation last year on the adoption of a consensus resolution on the question of Korea, I told the Committee:

"We have been and we remain staunch supporters of the elimination of all unnatural barriers

that have been created between the Korean people, so that they may play a vital role in the destiny of Asia in particular and of the world as a whole. We are only too eager to see the 50 million people unified in a single nation State, which, in our firm opinion, will be possible only through their own efforts. No outside interference or counselling, including that of the United Nations, can be more viable than their own efforts, based on the principles of national self-determination." (1967th meeting, p. 31)

Since then my country has established diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as with the Republic of Korea. A spirit of close friendship and understanding has been developing between the Korean peoples on either side of the 38th parallel and Nepal. We have always been guided by the desire to see the peaceful evolution of a process that could defeat and nullify the so-called legacy of the cold war in Korea, thereby making the creation of an independent and unified Korea a reality.

The homogeneous people of Korea, with a long and great tradition of civilization, were subjugated and brought under foreign rule in the first half of this century. While they were striving to gain independence and sovereignty, the patriotic Koreans suffered the worst tortures and miseries that foreign rule can inflict upon the ruled. The end of the Second World War, which brought about a wave of resurgence in most of the Asian countries, unfolded a different and tragic drama in the

Korean peninsula, where the political and strategic expediency of the victors divided a people along an imaginary line. Whatever happened after that, whatever interpretations were made or conclusions drawn, one thing is beyond dispute: the fact that the cold war has perpetuated the division of Korea and its people since that time.

My delegation has listened carefully to the previous speakers on this question. However, there seems to be hardly any agreement even on the facts of history. My delegation has no intention of starting any polemics, since we have not come here to take sides. We have come here to help, if we may, in our own modest way to achieve the solution of the problem that is plaguing a vital region of Asia.

In trying to look towards the solution of the problem we have before us three basic situations. The first is the situation of the present state of affairs with a divided Korea brought about and perpetuated by the Armistice Agreement of 1953 which, according to its supporters, is the only possible arrangement that could ensure continued peace and security in the Korean peninsula. This formula perpetuates the division of Korea, with the continued presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag in South Korea. No solution which aims at the perpetuation of the division of Korea backed by a military arrangement is any longer acceptable since both the Korean peoples have expressed their willingness, through the historic North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, for a unified and independent Korea to be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to arms and without outside interference.

So the North-South Joint Communiqué, which seeks the peaceful unification of Korea, presents us with a new situation. The Communiqué expresses the genuine desire of both the Koreas for peaceful reunification without any outside interference. What we have to consider now is whether the continued applicability of the provisions of the Armistice Agreement can help to bring about the realization of this genuine desire for reunification.

There is, again, the consensus decision adopted by the General Assembly last year. This consensus formula incorporates all the principles enunciated in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972: namely, the independent and peaceful reunification of the country without reliance on outside force or its interference and without recourse to the use of force against one another. It also emphasizes the need to promote great national

unity, and to that end expresses the hope that both South and North Korea will continue their dialogue.

The question before us is the achievement of an independent and peaceful reunification of Korea without reliance on outside force and its interference. In other words, it is a question of the peaceful transformation of a divided country into a unified one with a single entity. The need of the time is for reconciliation and the continuation of dialogues between the two Korean peoples, because we believe that the Korean peoples themselves should be allowed to seek ways and means for the peaceful reunification of Korea. We are therefore of the opinion that every possible effort should be made by the United Nations aimed at the realization of the long-cherished desire of the 50 million Korean people to be united as one single country.

If the United Nations espouses the cause of peaceful unification, it is time to take a more positive and realistic approach. My delegation is not quite convinced as to how peaceful reunification without outside interference can be achieved so long as foreign troops under United Nations command continue to remain in one part of Korea. Therefore my delegation feels that in the over-all interest of the peaceful unification of Korea the United Nations should be prepared to review the role of the United Nations Command in Korea. We should not hesitate to take a step that entails the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in Korea under United Nations Command, thereby paving the way for truly peaceful unification without outside interference.

Such a withdrawal of forces might create apprehension in some quarters that peace and stability might be endangered. But, at a time when we talk so much about *détente*, should we not have a more positive, bold and forward-looking attitude towards the solution of this problem? Can we not let the 50 million Korean people enjoy the fruits of *détente*? Moreover, both sides have solemnly undertaken not to have recourse to the use of arms against each other and not to rely on foreign troops and their interference in the reunification task. Why should we not believe this solemn undertaking by both sides?

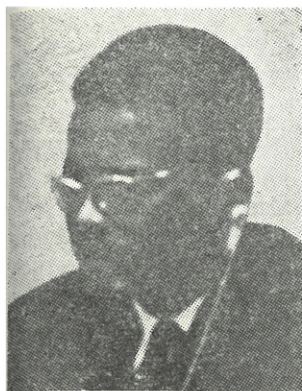
However, in order that such withdrawal should not give rise to too great or unnecessary fear and suspicion, certain measures should be taken that would ensure peace and stability and at the same time contribute to the realization of the peaceful unification of the two peoples. An arrangement under the aegis of the United Nations for a peace agreement or non-aggression pact between South Korea and North Korea is one possibility. This

move could be followed by a firm and solemn guarantee by the big Powers strictly to observe and respect the agreement between the two sides and not to take any action that might endanger the agreement. A similar guarantee should be given by the States in the region. These are some of the possibilities which my delegation feels could pave the way for the eventual peaceful reunification of Korea.

Before concluding, my delegation would like to state that the United Nations should not take any hasty or unwise action that might endanger or jeopardize peace and security. At the same time, my delegation is ever more convinced that the time has come for a forward-looking approach towards settling the question of Korea. We should strive to develop a positive, not a negative, attitude in this regard.

At this stage, I should like to assure my friend the Ambassador of Tunisia that my delegation is willing to study and consider the draft resolution which he has just put verbally to the Committee and will give its reaction in due course.





## EUGENE MANKOU

### Congo

It is regrettable that the question of Korea should have been relegated to the bottom of the agenda of our Committee. While that was certainly due to chance, my delegation expresses the hope and the wish that at the next session this item will occupy a better place on the agenda, thus allowing for a better debate on this subject. The fate of almost 50 million human beings deserves more careful attention.

My delegation would not wish to tire the Committee with a historical survey. On 25 June 1950, the Security Council noted that an attack by the North against the South had constituted a breach of the peace. On 7 July 1950, the Security Council called on all Member States that had raised and provided troops to place them under a unified command under the authority of the United States of America.

After a merciless war which lasted three years, an armistice agreement was signed by the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations forces and the representatives of North Korea, which put an end to the war.

Thereafter we learned of the full significance of the 38th parallel, which sanctioned the division of Korea.

In 1954, a mutual defence treaty was signed between the Governments of South Korea and the United States of America.

My delegation affirms here unequivocally that on 7 July 1950, our Organization, by the vote in the Security Council on Korea, committed an error, a monumental error no doubt, but nevertheless an error. Our Organization is human, and it is human to err — and there was the cold war which heated passions and aroused appetites. My delegation is forcing itself not to comment on that monumental error. In brief, we are now in the maelstrom resulting from that error.

My delegation has listened with sustained attention to all the delegations which have already spoken on the question of Korea, in particular the delegations of North Korea, South Ko-

rea, the United States of America, the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

It seems quite evident that they are all filled with the same desire for the peaceful reunification of Korea, and yet this apparent evidence is the crux of the matter in Korea. North and South Korea, when they signed the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, expressed their will to live in peace by continuing the dialogue among Koreans. And our Organization, at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, decided, on 28 November 1973, to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

Some days ago, on 29 November 1974, to be specific, the Permanent Representative of Tunisia asked the Secretariat of our Organization, through you, Mr. Chairman, to give the Committee

“the most up-to-date information available on the United Nations Command, the nationality of the troops, the name of the Supreme Commander, if there is one — that is to say, all technical information which could assist us to understand the situation better in the light of the most current information.” (A/C.1/PV.2031, p. 56)

On 4 December 1974, the Permanent Representative of Cuba reiterated this request and communicated to the Committee certain items of information from South Korean and American sources regarding United Nations forces in South Korea.

“One [concerns] the possibility, as they see it, of integrating into a single command the so-called United Nations Command in Korea with the Eighth Army of the United States of America; ...”.

The Permanent Representative of Cuba continued by saying: “we should like to know if the United Nations authorities have any information about this plan and if the possible integration mentioned would imply that the United States Eighth Army would be incorporated in its totality into the United Nations Command in South Korea, and if anybody in our Organization has been informed of such a proposal.”

The Permanent Representative of Cuba, quoted a statement by Mr. Clements, the Under-Secretary of Defense of the United States of America, according to which

“...the Second Division of the United States Army was in the Demilitarized Zone in Korea.”

And then the representative of Cuba asked whether

“... this Division of the United States Army is there per-

forming any function on behalf of the United Nations and whether any body of our Organization is cognizant of the movements and activities of this United States Division in the Demilitarized Zone." (2034th meeting, p. 67)

The importance of these questions in regard to a situation, which I would euphemistically describe as distressing, has not escaped our Committee. The Secretariat of our Organization, which has accustomed us to more serious work and more effective co-operation, has not been able to supply us with the information, and for a good reason: only the Pentagon can meet our request for information since it is the United States armed forces which are in South Korea. There is nothing illegal about that. The mutual defence treaty, signed in 1954 between the United States and South Korea, authorizes the presence there of United States forces. What is illegal, however, is the use made of the United Nations emblem by these armed forces. It is a blot on our Organization.

My delegation has not forgotten 7 July 1950 and the United States has not learnt its lesson, as was stated here by one eminent representative. The mistake we would be making if we tolerated this illegality would have unparalleled consequences. Since we really wish to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea, on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people, my delegation invites members of the Committee to consider the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676. Despite the seriousness of our Committee and the importance of the matter we are considering, my delegation, on reading this draft resolution, cannot keep seeing a sort of caricature superimposed on it.

Let us read the first, second, third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble, as well as operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676. It reads:

"Desiring that progress be made towards the attainment of the goal of peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people,

"Recalling its satisfaction with the issuance of the joint communiqué at Seoul and Pyongyang on 4 July 1972 and the declared intention of both the South and the North of Korea to continue the dialogue between them,

"Aware, however, that tension in Korea has not been totally eliminated and that the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area,

"Recognizing that, in accordance with the purposes

and principles of the Charter of the United Nations regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has a continuing responsibility to ensure the attainment of this goal on the Korean peninsula.” And now let us read operative paragraph 1:

“1. Reaffirms the wishes of its members, as expressed in the consensus statement adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973, and urges both the South and the North of Korea to continue their dialogue to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea;”

So far, my delegation could support this draft resolution because this part of it smilingly expresses the hope that we all feel that Korea will be reunited in peace.

Let us now look at operative paragraph 2. It reads:

“Expresses the hope that the Security Council, bearing in mind the need to ensure continued adherence to the Armistice Agreement and the full maintenance of peace and security in the area, will in due course give consideration, in consultation with the parties directly concerned, to those aspects of the Korean question, including the dissolution of the United Nations Command in conjunction with the arrangements to maintain the Armistice Agreement, which fall within its responsibility.”

That is no smile but a grimace, a threatening grimace. The Korean question is to be removed from our grasp and placed before the Security Council. We, the small nations, know what this means. We are threatened with a cascade of vetoes, vetoes which simply harden positions and create rancour without changing anyone's point of view. Operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1, as I was saying a moment ago, constitutes a caricature of the original design: a wolfish grin, a sardonic smile, a threat.

The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1 belongs to the policy of the carrot and the stick which the small nations have had to endure ever since power was first used without wisdom. Since peace and the freedom of peoples are concerned, the People's Republic of the Congo will not accept the carrot nor fear the stick. That is why my delegation cannot support the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1, an invention of the United States of America.

At this stage of the debate on the question of Korea when each delegation only wants to listen to what it thinks is the truth, it seems superfluous to tell the real truth. And yet only historical truth will remain after we have finished going from com-

promise to compromise in our Organization. In brief, despite the presence of United States armed forces in Korea, my delegation does not doubt the desire of the United States to see the Korean people reunited in peace. However, a Bantu proverb says that a judge who reconciles man and wife should not go so far as to share their bed. If the presence of United States forces in South Korea is of such concern to my delegation it is because we believe that that presence is not a factor that can encourage dialogue between Koreans for peaceful reunification in accordance with the Joint Communiqué of July 1972.

The argument according to which North Korea, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union would invade South Korea were it not for the presence in that country of United States armed forces does not stand up to objective analysis. You would need an imagination run wild to see the Chinese, Soviet and North Korean armies pouring into South Korea to burn, destroy and massacre. These are methods more likely to be adopted by those who have made use of napalm, defoliants, pellet bombs and other still more deadly and more terrifying weapons in Viet-Nam.

Some sponsors of the American draft resolution have not hesitated to propose the admission to our Organization of North Korea and of South Korea, comparing them with the two Germanies which, according to the sponsors, are no worse off. My delegation deplores this comparison and considers that those who make it have a weak memory. Have they remembered of the Second World War only the big profits they were able to make at that time because they lived in a zone that was spared by the general conflagration?

Prompted by the desire not to embarrass any delegation my delegation will briefly remind those who pretend to have lost their memories of the following: Adolf Hitler did exist. There was a Second World War which gave birth to the two Germanies. The Korean question has nothing in common with the foregoing and my delegation is warranted in being alarmed at certain words such as "peace" and "dialogue" used in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1. It seems to my delegation that the words have a different meaning depending on whether they are used by the sponsors of that draft resolution or by my delegation. What peace are they speaking of? What dialogue are they referring to? The maintenance of American troops favours a dialogue, of course; but it is a dialogue of cannon. After the Council will come the bombs. There will be peace, of course, the peace of the graveyard. The Congo, my country,

cannot be an accomplice of those who wish to make large graveyards of small nations.

The Congo is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677. It would appear so far that this draft resolution has not been the subject of any amendments. Not because it is sacrosanct, as was ironically alleged here by a permanent member of the Security Council, but simply because it is a sound draft resolution, which, when adopted and implemented, will bring to the Korean people unity in peace after more than 29 years.

On 2 December 1974, at the 2032nd meeting of our Committee, the representative of the United States said:

"The subsequent presentation of the resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677 confirmed our fears that its sponsors looked to an intemperate and contentious debate...". (2032nd meeting, pp. 84-85)

He continued:

"On the other hand, in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 the Committee is being asked to reverse last year's consensus and, in the process, to recommend abandoning the arrangement which has preserved peace on the Korean peninsula for more than 20 years". (*Ibid.*, p. 86)

Later in his statement the representative of the United States said:

"...one suggests that peace might be maintained and peaceful reunification might be expedited by the removal of United States troops from Korea. History does not support that view. That particular solution to the Korean issue has already been tried once. It failed badly." (*Ibid.*)

First of all, it would seem that there is a very slight misunderstanding. Once that misunderstanding has been dispelled, we shall be able to make a clearer assessment of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, of which Congo is a sponsor. In that draft resolution the Committee is not called upon to go back on its consensus of last year, as the United States representative has said. That can be seen if one looks at the second preambular paragraph, which reads:

"Considering that the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, on 28 November 1973, decided to dissolve immediately the 'United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea', expressing the hope that the North and the South of Korea would continue their dialogue in the spirit of the joint state-

ment of 4 July 1972 and widen their many-sided exchanges and co-operation so as to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

If we look at the United States draft resolution (A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1), operative paragraph 1 reads:

"Reaffirms the wishes of its members, as expressed in the consensus statement adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973 and urges both the South and the North of Korea to continue their dialogue to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea;"

With slight variations, what appears in the second preambular paragraph in document A/C.1/L.677 is the same as we find in operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1. The consensus of 28 November 1973 is not called in question in the United States draft resolution; still less so is it called in question in the draft resolution of which my country is a sponsor (A/C.1/L.677).

The United States representative blames our draft resolution because it asks the Committee

"...to recommend abandoning the arrangement which has preserved peace on the Korean Peninsula for more than twenty years." (*Ibid.* p. 86)

The "arrangement" — does that mean the presence of United States troops; and "peace on the Korean peninsula for more than twenty years" — does that mean the bloodless war which the Korean people have known for so long? We all know that the prolonged presence of foreign armed troops, even friendly troops, is a challenge to a people and makes it difficult to govern. The people of a country under military occupation, even within the framework of a mutual defence treaty, ends up by feeling nothing in common with those who rule it. The history of the third world countries has proved that, as has the history of the developed countries. I shall quote an example, and I apologize to the delegation of that friendly country. France, a permanent member of the Security Council and a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, asked for the removal of United States troops from its territory. Obviously the case was not identical with the one we are now considering, but the results speak for themselves.





## FRANK E. BOATEN

### Ghana

At its 2181st plenary meeting, held on 28 November 1973, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of this Committee, adopted a statement on the Korean question. That was a departure from previous sessions of the General Assembly when conclusions of the debate on this item had been expressed in the form of resolutions. The statement, which was adopted by consensus, reflected the general view that developments during 1972, as reported by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, justified some optimism regarding a peaceful solution of the Korean question. It was felt then that those developments should be encouraged. In that statement, the Assembly:

“...noted with satisfaction that a joint communiqué was issued by the North and the South of Korea on 4 July 1972”

providing for agreed joint objectives for negotiations between the two sides. Those objectives were in line with the stated objectives of the United Nations, repeated in several General Assembly resolutions, namely:

“...to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area.”

My delegation has always supported those objectives and continues to support them.

My delegation cannot help reflecting on some of the underlying factors which gave rise to the Korean question. In our view, the Korean question, like some other issues that have given rise to localized conflicts, is a vestige of the competition between two conflicting ideologies which characterized international relations in the years after the Second World War. Although it has become customary in recent years to speak of



détente, my delegation is not convinced that the world has rid itself of the tensions and conflicts to which this competition gives rise. It is against this background that my delegation intends to address itself to some of the elements underlying the issue now being debated in this Committee.

Without wishing to bore my colleagues with a detailed historical account of the issue before the Committee, I nevertheless consider it relevant to recall certain facts which I consider pertinent to any attempt at finding a solution to the Korean question. My delegation finds this necessary because it is convinced that, unless we decide to face the facts as they are, a solution to the issue will continue to elude us.

The justification for a United Nations presence in Korea is derived from Security Council resolutions 82 (1950), 83 (1950), 84 (1950) and 85 (1950), adopted in June and July 1950.

Resolution 82 (1950) determined that:

“...the armed attack on the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea,

“...constitutes a breach of the peace”.

In its operative paragraph 3, it called on:

“...all Member States to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.”

Resolution 83 (1950) recommended:

“...that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.”

Operative paragraph 3 of resolution 84 (1950) recommended:

“...that all Members providing military forces and other assistance pursuant to the aforesaid Security Council resolutions make such forces and other assistance available to a unified command under the United States of America”.

Operative paragraph 6 of the same resolution requested:

“...the United States to provide the Security Council with reports as appropriate on the course of action taken under the unified command.”

Resolution 85 (1950) gave the unified command what could be described as a carte blanche with regard to the operations and conduct of the force furnished under the command. This is not meant to be a criticism; perhaps the purpose for which the force was constituted made this necessary.

The last substantive report to the Security Council in accordance with the Council's resolution 84 (1950), however, appears to have been given in 1953. Subsequent reports since then have been nothing more than notifications of administrative changes in the command of the unified command. In any case, the Security Council, in its resolution 90 (1951), resolved:

"...to remove the item 'Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea' from the list of matters of which the Council is seized."

One permanent member of the Council, as members of the Committee are aware, was absent from the Security Council's meetings which passed those resolutions, and therefore did not participate in the voting. I say this, not with any implied challenge of the constitutionality of the decisions contained in the Security Council resolutions referred to, because my delegation does not believe that this is an issue. It is fully appreciated by my delegation that the United Nations *per se* does not have troops of its own. Such troops as the United Nations may deploy in execution of decisions of the Security Council will necessarily be, at least under the present circumstances, what Member States are willing to contribute. Further, my delegation cannot support the position that because one permanent member did not participate in the decisions which gave legal sanction to the constitution of the force, those decisions are invalid or unconstitutional.

As I said earlier on, my delegation does not consider that the legality of the Security Council resolutions on the question of Korea is at issue. That is not a preoccupation of my delegation. What is important, and what we believe should be central to the issue under discussion, is the nature of the force and the function it was constituted to perform. It is relevant to our efforts towards finding a solution to the issue to ascertain whether the presence of the force in Korea, as it was and as it is presently constituted, advances the causes of peace and security in the area. It seems obvious enough to my delegation that, unlike other United Nations forces which have been constituted for peace-keeping operations in other areas of conflict, the United Nations force in Korea is a combat force. It was constituted under Chapter VII, Article 39 of the Charter, to repel aggression, at the instance of one of the parties to a conflict which felt itself to be a victim of aggression. In the view of my delegation, the phase of the conflict which made the constitution of the force necessary is past; we have entered a new phase, name-

ly, the phase of helping to create conditions leading to serious negotiations towards a peaceful solution of the issue.

The question which this Committee should ask itself is whether a force which had in the past taken the side of one party to a conflict can be expected to perform effectively the role of a peacemaker. In the view of my delegation, the presence of the United Nations force in Korea as it is presently constituted hampers the cause of peace; it does not advance it. Furthermore, my delegation would like to draw attention to General Assembly resolution 711 (VII). This resolution noted:

“...with approval the Armistice Agreement concluded in Korea on 27 July 1953...”

In operative paragraph 3 of its resolution 712 (VII), the General Assembly expressed:

“...satisfaction that the first efforts pursuant to the call of the United Nations to repel armed aggression by collective military measures have been successful...”.

This supports our contention that the purpose for which the United Nations force was sent to Korea was completed with the signing of the Armistice Agreement. With that function completed, the force, in our view, should have been withdrawn. In fact, subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly since 1958 gave the indication that the General Assembly itself envisaged this. The fourth preambular paragraph of General Assembly resolution 1264 (XIII) states:

“Noting further that in this exchange the Governments concerned, observing that the greater part of the forces sent to Korea in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations have already been withdrawn, welcomed the announcement that the Chinese communist troops were also to be withdrawn from North Korea...”.

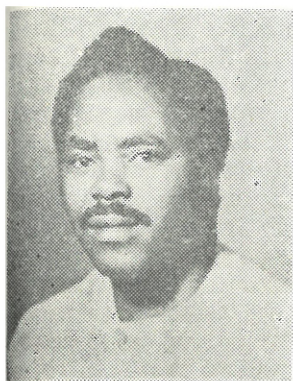
It is because of those considerations that my delegation supports the view that the force presently serving under the United Nations flag in Korea should be withdrawn. We have taken this position because we believe that by so doing the United Nations would help to create the conditions which would facilitate a meaningful dialogue between the two parts of Korea. A beginning to this was made in 1972, and we have no doubt that it will continue if the United Nations gives encouragement in the right direction. A first step in this direction, it seems to us, would be the withdrawal of the troops now serving in the area under the United Nations flag.

It has been argued that fresh hostilities between North and South would break out if those troops were withdrawn. My

delegation does not share those apprehensions. In our view, a number of circumstances have occurred since 1950 which point to the development of accommodation and compromise on the part of all parties to the conflict. I refer to the change in status of the countries concerned vis-à-vis the United Nations. The two Koreas now have observer status at the United Nations. The lawful rights of the People's Republic of China have now been restored and it now occupies its rightful seat on the Security Council, the body charged with the primary responsibility by the Charter for maintaining world peace and security.

In our view, if the United Nations should consider it necessary to maintain any force in the area, it should be a different kind of force, constituted differently. It should be a force which would maintain a neutral position and facilitate the creation of conditions for negotiations towards a peaceful and lasting settlement of the Korean issue. This continues to be the objective of the United Nations, and it is the view of my delegation that we should work towards it.

Absence of hostilities is not necessarily peace. If the presence of the troops serving under the United Nations flag in Korea is merely to serve as a deterrent, my delegation would consider it self-defeating. Tranquillity based on deterrence, in the view of my delegation, cannot be regarded as peace. If there is to be peace in Korea, it should be negotiated by the two parties concerned. Peace by its very nature cannot be imposed by any force, however strong.



## CHALE

### United Republic of Tanzania

The Korean question presents one of the most absurd contradictions of our Organization. For over 25 successive years, this Organization has been seized of the problem of Korea. Indeed, the Korean question remains today a test case for our Organization's Charter. Among the ideals embodied in the Charter are those of respect by its parties for the territorial integrity of other States and non-interference in their internal affairs. These are the very ideals that have been denied the Korean people for over two decades.

Ever since the Korean question arose, the United Nations, and some of its Members, have paid a lot of lip-service to that country. That lip-service has been a costly game to the people of Korea. For, while claiming to promote the unity and peace of that divided country, the imperialist forces have brazenly pursued a policy that is clearly designed to undermine the interests of the Korean people and to maintain the division between the two parts of Korea.

The presence in South Korea of the military forces of the United States used to be rationalized by cold-war logic, in spite of the inadmissibility of such excuses under the Charter of the United Nations. That excuse, however, has been rendered obsolete by the fact that that very party to the cold war is now busy preaching and expounding the achievements of détente. But how does one interpret the spirit of détente in the context of United States policies in the Korean peninsula? Is this not a dichotomy? By taking refuge in the so-called defence agreement with the Republic of Korea, which has been and remains a United States puppet régime, the United States, shall we say, is only confirming its double standard in its treatment of the relevant provisions of the Charter. For the so-called defence agreement was not made with the Korean people. It is a sham defence agreement, fabricated between the United States and

internal enemies of the unity and peace of the Korean people. There being no legitimate defence agreement with the Korean people, the presence of the United States forces in South Korea can only be an interference in the internal affairs of that country. The kind of gross interference perpetrated by the United States in Korea is not one that assumes the form of mere threat. It is manifested in both intent and practice. For it claims the lives of those very people the United States asserts it has gone to defend. Indeed, there is no other enemy but the Korean people. The so-called defence agreement is indeed a complete distortion of the notion of defence as used in the Charter.

The presence of the United States forces in Korea helps to perpetuate a very unpopular régime whose police-state tactics have for so long oppressed the freedom-loving and peace-loving people of Korea. What is even worse is the fact that the United States uses the flag of this Organization to help the oppressive régime of South Korea, in violation of the United Nations Charter. If the United Nations has ever been scandalously abused, it is in Korea. The so-called United Nations Force, as everybody knows, including the United States, is a United States force, manned by the United States, commanded by the United States, and responsible to the United States. The presence of the United Nations flag serves only to hide the private nature of the United States forces in Korea; and this in our view is a most shameful cover-up.

Last year this Organization took note of the hopeful developments in Korea, in particular the agreement reached between the two sides. Among other things the two sides in Korea can work out a solution to their problem on their own only if they are freed from external interference. They asked each of us, and continue to ask us, to facilitate this process. If our Organization, and especially the United States, is sincere in wanting to see Korea united in peace for the progress of the Korean people, then the two sides must be encouraged to continue with the dialogue.

And to this end, first, the United States of America must withdraw its forces from South Korea and, secondly, the United Nations must dissociate itself from the abuse of its flag. These are straightforward appeals made by the Korean people themselves, who know best what is good for them. They should not be let down. No pretext will ever succeed in lifting the weight of the condemnation which the Korean people will cast on anyone who thwarts the earnest aspirations of the innocent Korean people. Nor will any nation of the United Nations get any comfort

from the rest of the world community, which sees in the Korean question a threat to its own peace and security. The very Charter of the United Nations will convict us of hypocrisy and sentence us to eternal shame and ignominy.

It is our view, therefore, that four things must be done: all foreign troops must be withdrawn from Korea; the dialogue between the North and the South should be resumed as soon as possible, without any outside interference; the United States should cease forthwith the misuse of the United Nations flag; and the United Nations High Command should be dissolved immediately.

My delegation would welcome the proposed Confederal Republic of Koryo and would do everything to see to it that it is admitted into this Organization as one State. Those of us who have the memory to recall the lessons of history cannot but side with the Korean people, because history repeats itself. Hence, our Organization cannot afford to be short-sighted. To waver in taking decisive action now is to be short-sighted and to negate the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

It is for these reasons that my delegation supports the only just draft resolution, that contained in document A/C.1/L.677, sponsored by some 38 States. In doing so, we remain convinced that this provides the only genuine basis for the solution of the Korean question. Such a demand is in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people as eloquently and repeatedly projected by the great President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Kim Il Sung.

This position of the Tanzania delegation is faithful to the decision adopted by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their summit conference in Algiers in 1973. They then declared — and here I quote from the resolution:

“Mindful of the fact that the continuation of this division constitutes a permanent threat to peace and security in Asia and in the world,

“Demanding that foreign interference in Korea be brought to an end and that the right of the Korean people to self-determination be guaranteed in order to allow them to manage their own affairs themselves and to settle the question of the reunification of Korea by peaceful means,

“Bearing in mind the desire of the Korean people for the reunification of their country and their unanimous opposition to the proposal for membership of Korea in the

United Nations in the form of simultaneous membership by two Koreas which would make it possible to perpetuate the division of the country,

"1. Calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and an end to foreign interference in all its forms in the domestic affairs of Korea;

"2. Further calls on the United Nations General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;

"3. Declares that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South."

I believe that the situation is crystal clear. What remains is for this Organization, and this Committee in particular, to decide that the question be settled. We are here to see that peace and security prevail in the world. Let us take the necessary action. The action is in the hands of the United Nations, which means us. Let us take that action.





## TALIB EL-SHABIB

### Iraq

Mr. Chairman, this is the first time I have taken the floor in this Committee during the present session. Therefore I would beg your indulgence to be allowed at this late stage to extend to you, on behalf of the Iraqi delegation, our warmest appreciation for the able and efficient manner in which the work of this Committee has been conducted under your leadership. Your well-known diplomatic skill and your vast knowledge of the work of this Organization have once more been amply proved during the past few weeks while you have been Chairman of this Committee.

Iraq is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Our sponsorship of that draft resolution is predicated upon the following reasons.

First, we believe that the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops is contrary to the United Nations Charter and the recognized principles of international law on non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

Secondly, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is contrary to the Korean Armistice Agreement, which stipulates the necessity of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

Thirdly, we believe it is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity stated in the North-South Joint Statement.

Fourthly, we believe that the presence of those foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations in order to serve foreign designs and interests makes a mockery of the United Nations and its purposes as stated in the Charter.

Therefore we firmly believe that the positive action em-

bodied in the consensus on the Korean question adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session should be followed by a decision this year to disband the United Nations Command in Korea and allow for a speedy withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

The history of Korea, as is well known to all, informs us that Korea is one nation and that the Korean people will never tire in their struggle to achieve the independence and unity of the country and to put an end to the division imposed upon the one nation over the past 29 years.

In this regard, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, under the leadership of President Kim Il Sung, has persistently and tirelessly advanced various reasonable proposals to achieve the aim of the Korean people in unity and independence. We note in particular the five-point proposal President Kim Il Sung advanced in June 1973.

On the other hand, the régime in South Korea, bolstered by the presence of foreign troops, has imposed upon the Korean people a series of so-called "emergency measures" which deprive the Korean people in the South of the most basic liberties and human rights.

At the same time, all efforts to achieve the peaceful unification of Korea have been stalled and frustrated in order to perpetuate the division of the country and thus prevent the whole people of Korea from realizing its national aspirations in unity and independence.

In his address before this Committee, the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea advanced a series of proposals with which my Government finds itself in full agreement. These proposals and the draft resolution which my country is sponsoring points out the way to achieve a reasonable solution to the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korean soil in a peaceful manner. We believe that the real aim in opposing these proposals is the continuation of United States occupation of South Korea and the perpetuation of the division of the country against the wishes of the people.

The people of Korea has always supported the just struggle of the Arab people. My country in response expresses its full solidarity with the Korean people in its fight against the occupation of its country by United States troops, under whatever flag it may be, and for the reunification of its country.



## JOSEPH NDABANIWE

### Burundi

Our Committee is meeting once again to consider a question of vital importance for the future of the Korean people, for peace and security in the Far East in general and on the Korean peninsula in particular.

The consensus which the General Assembly adopted on 28 November 1973, undoubtedly represents an important contribution by our Organization to the solution of the Korean problem. Today, we must move forward and do whatever we can to expedite the process of normalizing the situation on the Korean peninsula, in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Korean people.

The entire Korean people wants peace and unity with national independence. It rejects the artificial division which was imposed on it by force for reasons alien and contrary to its interests, as part of a policy of domination and supremacy. It wishes to abolish the barriers which have been set up to separate the children of the Korean family. It wants to be master of its own affairs, to live in freedom and dignity, as it has done for more than 4,000 years, free from foreign pressures and interference. This is perfectly clear in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, and is also clear in the statements made by the leaders and spokesmen of both parties in Korea.

It is the duty of the United Nations to assist the Korean people to attain its objectives as early as possible and by peaceful means, by creating the conditions for an atmosphere of peace, mutual trust and national reconciliation, and by eliminating all sources of tension and misunderstanding on both sides of the 38th Parallel by removing all obstacles which prevent the Korean people from exercising its right to self-determination.

In this connexion, my delegation considers that the foreign occupation troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag must be withdrawn and the so-called "United Nations Command" in Korea dissolved. We all know that the mission

entrusted to the so-called "United Nations Forces" in South Korea is precisely the maintenance of the *status quo* and of the deadlock in Korea. In supporting the policy of provocation and aggression of the Seoul authorities in regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United Nations Forces, which ignore our Organization and serve exclusively the interests of a great Power in that region of the world, has only maintained an atmosphere of tension and has strengthened the elements that are hostile to the reunification of Korea. This being so, no just solution can be found to the Korean question as long as foreign troops are maintained on part of Korean territory.

Some speakers have told us that the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea would encourage the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to invade the South and would thus provoke a breach of the peace in the region. This argument can deceive no one. In fact, the representative of South Korea, in his statement, insisted on the fact that he represents two-thirds of the Korean nation.

On the other hand, we know that the Seoul authorities can at any time mobilize an army of more than 3 million men, provided with the most modern and most impressive military equipment. In these circumstances and inasmuch as the Seoul authorities are in firm control of their population and army, an invasion by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be tantamount to suicide.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always proposed to the other party the achievement of the reunification of Korea by peaceful and democratic means with, as a first step, cessation of the arms race, reduction of military potential, reduction of military effectives, and the signing of a peace treaty to replace the Armistice Agreement of 1953. Who would recognize in these proposals the language of a warlike, annexionist and expansionist country?

To these concrete and generous proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea South Korea replied by saying that the reunification of Korea would take place after victory over communism. Thus it is clear who has aggressive intentions with regard to whom.

The so-called United Nations Force in Korea constitutes both an anachronism and a blot on our Organization. It is an anachronism because, in accordance with the Armistice Agreement on Korea of 1953, all foreign troops were to have been withdrawn after the cease-fire. It is a blot on the Organization, which has agreed to sanction a policy of aggression by lending its name,

its insignia, its blue helmets and flags to foreign occupation troops in Korea. The United Nations attitude in this Korean affair has seriously jeopardized the prestige and authority of the Organization throughout the world.

It is time to do justice to the Korean nation. It is time to correct the mistakes our Organization has committed in interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and preventing the Korean people from fully and freely exercising their inalienable right to self-determination. Let us allow the Korean people to settle their own affairs, free from external pressures and restraints.

The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, of which my country is a sponsor, alone responds to this concern. We are convinced that those who sincerely wish that peace, justice and freedom be restored on the entire Korean peninsula will support this draft resolution.





## **GUERODOT GAVRILOVICH TCHERNOUCHTENKO**

**Byelorussian Soviet  
Socialist Republic**

In submitting, along with the other socialist countries and a large number of non-aligned countries, the item entitled "Withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations" for consideration by this twenty-ninth

session of the General Assembly, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was endeavouring to ensure that at the present session of the General Assembly a decisive step would be taken towards the final elimination of foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people and that favourable conditions would be created for the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea. Such a decision by the General Assembly has long been awaited by the Korean people and is awaited by the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world. The adoption of a principled and fair decision along those lines has been sought by the socialist countries, including the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, from the very beginning of the discussion of the question of Korea in the United Nations. Today that position, which is that of all the socialist States, is supported by a large group of non-aligned countries.

My delegation notes with satisfaction that with each passing year an increasing number of States support the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful, democratic reunification of their country, and that the ranks of those who support the shameful policy of discrimination in the United Nations vis-à-vis the Korean people, pursued by States which started the aggressive war in Korea, are growing ever thinner. We are convinced that the just cause of the freedom-loving Korean people and of the peace-loving forces that side with it will soon triumph.

The first step has already been taken in this direction. At its session last year, the General Assembly unanimously adopted

a decision concerning the immediate dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which was used for many years by the imperialist forces to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people and to protect their own aggressive plans in the Korean peninsula. We regard this as a sign of the favourable influence exercised by the growing and deepening process of détente and as a result of the changing balance of power in the international arena, including in the United Nations, towards the forces of peace, socialism and progress.

As is known, in that same decision the General Assembly expressed the hope that the North and the South of Korea would endeavour to continue their dialogue and to expand their many-sided exchanges and attempt to work in the spirit of the principles contained in the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 to speed the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

During the time that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has, in accordance with the above-mentioned General Assembly decision, taken a number of new measures to give effect to the North-South joint statement and to activate the talks between the two parts of Korea with a view to the earliest reunification of the country.

The numerous proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would, if they had been implemented, have considerably eased the situation in the Korean peninsula, would have improved relations between the North and the South and would have paved the way for further measures towards the earliest reunification of Korea by peaceful means. And those proposals did in fact receive a lively response in the south of the country. Distinguished political figures in South Korea, members of the religious community and representatives of broad strata of the population ever more actively called for an extension of contacts with the North and the withdrawal of foreign troops, as well as an end to all foreign interference in Korea's affairs and the earliest reunification of the country.

However, despite the growing movement of the people of South Korea towards reunification, southern Korean authorities have rejected the various initiatives taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and have demonstrated their reluctance to act in accordance with the decisions of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. They have again in-

licated that they do not aspire to the reunification of the Korean people into a single peace-loving State. The Seoul régime has made use of the negotiations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as a cover for its policy aimed at perpetuating the division of the country, a policy that is in radical opposition to the interests of Korea and the Korean people. This can also be seen in the statement made by the South Korean representative in the First Committee. Indeed, he even declined to speak as had been agreed in an earlier meeting. Clearly the South Korean representative had no argument to refute the constructive proposals put forward by the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

What, then, is the reason for this abnormal situation? It is no secret that the roots of the present abnormal situation go back to foreign interference in the affairs of Korea and the presence in the country of foreign troops, that is to say, United States troops — the main reason for the division of Korea and represents the main obstacle to the peaceful reunification of the Korean people. Those troops illegally style themselves "United Nations troops" and their Command, similarly illegally, is known as the "United Nations Command".

To justify their occupation of South Korea they take cover behind the decision of the Security Council, which was illegal because it was taken in the absence of two permanent members of that body. Under the United Nations Charter, as everyone knows, any forces established by the United Nations are subject to the Security Council and accountable to it. However, nobody can give even a single example indicating that there is any practical connexion of any kind between those troops which are occupying South Korea and the United Nations. This is more than convincingly demonstrated in the information provided to us here in the Committee by the United Nations Secretariat. It is clear from that information that to all intents and purposes the link is confined to the fact that *ex post facto* the United Nations was notified that the United States commanders of those troops had been changed. We have been told that since 1970 no information at all has been forthcoming.

Representatives might recall that during the 1968 session of the General Assembly, in response to a question by the representative of Hungary here in the First Committee, the Secretariat provided a similar reply: that for many years there had been no reports at all from the so-called United Nations forces. They are indeed strange "United Nations forces" in South Korea. They exist, but nothing further is known about them. What is



known is that the foreign troops at present in South Korea under the United Nations flag are used to carry out plans that have nothing in common either with the tasks of preserving and strengthening peace in the Korean peninsula or with the interests of the Korean people themselves.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is essentially the main support of those who rule in Seoul and who stubbornly refuse a just, peaceful solution to the problem of Korea in the interests of the whole Korean people. With foreign assistance, a vast military and police apparatus has been set up in South Korea, the militarization of the economy proceeds apace, and the 700,000-strong army of South Korea is being modernized. Terror and violence prevail in the country, there is corruption, and most of the inhabitants live in poverty and hunger. The most elementary democratic rights and freedoms are trampled under foot. Opponents of the existing régime are persecuted.

The serious situation in South Korea has even aroused concern in the United States. More and more United States politicians, including Congressmen, are calling for an end to the assistance and support to the Park Chun Hee régime, for an end to American interference in Korea and for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea. As was stressed in *The New York Times* on 28 August, they are expressing the apprehension that:

"The United States might be involved in a war which would not be in its interests."

It might be a good idea for those who favour the maintenance of the troops to heed this pronouncement. The provocative policy of Seoul might serve as the spark which could start a fire and upset the shaky peace in the Korean peninsula.

The presence of foreign troops in the South Korea is indeed a dangerous source of tension in the region. The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea is today an urgent requirement. There is neither legal nor moral justification for the continuing interference of those troops in the affairs of the Korean people. Their presence in South Korea is contrary to the Armistice Agreement in Korea which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea after its conclusion. As is known, in the North of Korea, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, there have long since been no foreign troops.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea was deprived of foundation also in the light of the Joint Communiqué by the North and South on 4 July 1972, in which both parties agreed

on the following principles concerning the reunification of the country: the principle of independence without support from external force; the principle of peaceful reunification without the use of arms; and the principle of national unity. As is known, those principles, approved by the General Assembly at its session last year, represent a basis on which talks were to be undertaken between North and South. However, any talks and any contacts between the two parts of Korea with a view to the country's unification will be doomed to failure until the foreign troops occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag are withdrawn, for that is the main reason for the forcible division of Korea and the principal impediment to the country's unification.

Detailed statements have already twice been made by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok. His statements have drawn an impressive picture of the major efforts undertaken by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and personally by Comrade Kim Il Sung, consistent with the solution of the whole complex of problems which would lead in the final analysis to the peaceful unification of the country and satisfaction of the national aspirations of the Korean people.

Certain well-known proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, including a five-point proposal and a whole set of other proposals, are aimed at this noble objective by peaceful means. They are all aimed at the same purpose, to bring about the peaceful solution of the problem in the interests of the whole Korean people. The Soviet people warmly support the programme of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is aimed at the peaceful democratic unification of the country.

However, the opponents of this solution advance various arguments in an attempt to justify the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea, and everything has been set in motion. Various contrived and mendacious statements are put forward that distort the nature of the foreign policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. What are we to make of the remarks concerning the purported threat from the North although, as has been convincingly demonstrated by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, if we are to speak of a threat at all, then it is from the southern forces and the foreign troops that this threat emanates, since they considerably outnumber the North Korean forces. Perhaps this

mythical threat stems rather from the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 25 March 1974, proposals for the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States. But opponents of a troop withdrawal prefer to be silent about this. It was even suggested that the balance of power is being upset and that peace will collapse in the peninsula if the foreign troops present there under the United Nations flag should be withdrawn. But there is no balance of power in fact, and any concern displayed to this effect is artificial. Anyone who really wants to bring this about would have immediately to accept the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a cut in the armed forces of North and South to 100,000.

Some have even had recourse to the complex and sophisticated argument that the foreign troops that are present in South Korea under the United Nations flag have now changed their nature. But everyone knows that the Western countries have for more than 20 years attempted to prove to everyone that the troops in South Korea are United Nations troops. Now the representatives of those same countries, in their attempts to justify the presence there of foreign troops, are trying to demonstrate the opposite, referring to various bilateral agreements between South Korea and the United States. It has already been rightly pointed out that the thrust of those manoeuvres is to resist the withdrawal of foreign troops present in South Korea under the United Nations flag, and this cannot mislead anyone.

Our delegation considers that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, submitted by 38 delegations, including our own, is in keeping with this important and urgent task. It is brief and clear-cut. It stresses the necessity:

"... to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations"

and it:

"Expresses its confidence that the parties directly concerned will take appropriate steps for the solution of the questions related to the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations."

In our opinion, the adoption and implementation of this draft resolution would be fully in keeping with the interests of the entire Korean people and with the interests of the strengthening of peace and security in the Far East. Since a decision would create the necessary conditions in which the peo-

ple of Korea could themselves decide their own destiny without any interference from abroad, this is the only possible solution to a problem that has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for more than a decade, and we consider that it is the moral duty of anyone who cares about the principles of freedom and independence and the interests of peace and security to support this draft resolution.

The question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations is the main fundamental question under discussion in this Committee, and everyone should bear this in mind.

The First Committee has before it another draft resolution, that in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1. In the view of our delegation, this is nothing more nor less than an attempt to freeze the present state of affairs in South Korea, to maintain the foreign troops present there and to continue the foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people — all of which is contrary to the interests of the Korean people and can serve only to prevent a peaceful reunification of the country.

We are living in a new era, one in which considerable progress has been made towards the relaxation of international tensions. The ongoing processes furthering a state of détente are making it more and more irreversible in nature. But there is need for stubborn political struggle to overcome the resistance of those forces which, by their very nature, are aggressive. We are forced to note that there is still a lopsided approach to various aspects of the problem. It is the deep conviction of my delegation that, in the broad-based struggle for peace, of no less importance are the issues now under discussion, such as the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. The adoption of a decision in that regard, we are convinced, will help to remove the obstacles in the way of a peaceful reunification of Korea and to eliminate a hotbed of tension in the Far East, which, in turn, will help to strengthen world peace and security.



## HAISSAM KELANI

### Syrian Arab Republic

My congratulations to you, Mr. Chairman, on your election as Chairman of this Committee are very late indeed, but they are all the warmer as they are strengthened by the experience and the facts. You have conducted the work of this Committee

with great intelligence and sincerity, with wisdom and neutrality. Your wisdom, your patience and your firmness have been for us a source of appreciation and admiration for you, as a Chairman of whom we are proud and as the representative of a friendly country, Argentina.

I wish first of all to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Li Jong Mok, and wish him every success in the performance of his task, which aims at peace and the reunification of his divided country, and alleviation of the sufferings of his people.

When the General Assembly concluded its last session, the delegations returned to their countries filled with the hope that an era of fruitful dialogue would be initiated between the two parts of Korea, the North and the South. That hope was the result of the consensus that was adopted by the Assembly and accepted by the two Korean delegations. However, an entire year has passed and the dialogue has not yet started. Instead of the spread of détente and the indications of a peaceful era that could be enjoyed by the people of Korea after the sufferings that they have undergone for a quarter of a century, we find the tensions increasing and the Korean people further and further from peace, with the drums of war and crisis being heard throughout the Korean peninsula.

Is it not right for us to ask what the reason is for this setback, for this atmosphere filled with explosive and dangerous possibilities? If, in an attempt to find an answer to this question, we analyse the causes and results, then we must take into

account certain facts and events that will light our path to the correct answer.

Perhaps the first of these truths can be found in the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which enunciated the principles for the reunification of Korea: an independent reunification, without recourse to outside force or interference, achieved through peaceful means with neither of the parties resorting to the use of force against the other, and on a basis of national unity.

The first conclusion we can draw from the Joint Communiqué issued by the responsible authorities of the two parts of Korea, of their own free will and by virtue of the identity of the historical and geographical motives of the two peoples is that we are dealing with a single nation, a Korean nation, with a single homeland, the Korean homeland; with one history, one heritage and one fate, the history, heritage and fate of the Korean people.

The second conclusion is that the two parties have agreed to terminate all foreign presence throughout the entire Korean homeland and to reject all foreign interference, whatever its source or the reasons for it may be. These provisions apply to the responsible authorities in both parts of the Korean homeland and do not permit either of them to accept any foreign presence, military or otherwise, on its territory, or any foreign interference.

The third conclusion is represented in the means whereby the reunification would take place, namely peaceful means. This rejects and excludes any possibility that the Korean territory should serve as the base for a huge army or as the location of gigantic arsenals of modern and varied types of weapons.

The fourth conclusion is that the democratic process laid down in the Joint Communiqué for achieving its aims is one of national unity.

The second fact can be found in the attitude adopted by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is an attitude emanating from the Joint Communiqué to which it is committed and which sets up technical and practical solutions for its implementation. This attitude is represented in the five points that were stated by the great leader, Kim Il Sung, in June 1973, which provide for the elimination of military confrontation, the easing of tensions between North and South, the achievement of co-operation and exchange in all forms, the convening of a national congress representing national unity and the setting up of a union or federation which joins the two halves of the country.

On the other hand, we find in the south a régime based on foreign support only, and particularly United States military and financial support. This régime militarizes the people and gears them for battle, mobilizing them while aiming at provocation, and artificially creates events in order to bring about an atmosphere of threat of war whereby to justify its policy of oppression used to maintain its rule. It speeds up the mobilization of its forces and increases their size and their armaments, until with their reserves they have reached 2.5 million soldiers. The United States gave them aid of \$ 1,500 million in order to up-date and modernize this army and equip it with the latest weapons.

In order to create an atmosphere of enmity and war, the leader of the Seoul régime stated in January of this year that his country was living in a state of semi-war. Only six months later, in July of this year, this leader escalated the state of semi-war to turn it into a state of war and ordered his army to complete its preparations for war and to enter into a state of total mobilization. The Seoul régime created this artificial atmosphere out of provocation, mobilization and preparation for war, in order to obstruct the implementation of the consensus opinion that was issued by the General Assembly at its last session and to impede the implementation of the Joint Communiqué and in order to reject the proposals made by the North.

We have a question to ask. Why does the Seoul régime do all this and from where does it derive the strength to defy the will of the United Nations and to create tension in the area, to raise the spectre of a threatening war, when we have seen this very same régime knock at the door of the United Nations asking for membership therein as a peace-loving State? The answer to this question will be included in what I have to say today, because I would like to speak of the truth, which is a proposal that was made by the North to sign a peace agreement to take the place of the Armistice Agreement, on the basis of non-invasion, non-aggression and non-interference, which aims at placing the Korean peninsula outside the framework of confrontation and which would create the necessary atmosphere for the start of unification of the two parts of the country. This serious, reasonable proposal could be the framework within which to have peaceful unification through peaceful means and to contribute to achieving détente and maintaining peace and security in Asia. However, the fate of this proposal was to be ignored, as happened with all other constructive attempts which the North had continued to make in an effort to unify the country and to strengthen the foundations of peace and security there.

We return now to the questions which I raised at the beginning of my address, to find the reasons behind this explosive situation which was described by the leader of Seoul as a state of war. Perhaps the most obvious reason for this is the inclusion of the southern part of Korea in the military strategy of the United States in east Asia. This sheds light on the entire question and explains to us why the United States would like to hold on to the flag of the United Nations, to hide behind it in order to use it as a cover which would prevent criticism, and whereby it could maintain its strategic interests in the area and keep in southern Korea a large military base for its forces, irrespective of the interests of the Korean people and their desire to unify the two parts of the country and to establish peace and security in their country. In order to maintain and preserve its interests, it prevents the unity of a single people and sets up in Seoul an Asian fascist régime which it equips with arms. It mobilizes the people for its own purposes and urges the Seoul régime to defiance of the United Nations and to provocation and to announcing a state of semi-war followed by a state of war. The victim of this imperialist game is the Korean people alone, who live their sufferings, who live this division, who have lived this for the past quarter of a century and continue to do so in a state of tension and war.

In order to put an end to this tragedy and in order to implement the principles of the Charter it is necessary that all the foreign forces under the flag of the United Nations should withdraw from southern Korea. The presence of these forces is a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the principles of international law, the desire of the Korean people in both parts of the country, and the Armistice Agreement. Their presence represents very clearly and without doubt an outside interference and a form of pressure on the Korean people and its authorities in the South, which prevents them from practising their legitimate right to establish national unity through peaceful means and without any outside interference. It also prevents these people from practising their right to have democratic elections and from creating a democratic atmosphere in which all the groups and parties would exercise their freedom of expression and of meeting and other aspects of democracy.

The presence of these forces infringes upon the principle of sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the stipulation of the Armistice Agreement which affirms the necessity for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea. The presence of those forces is contrary to the will



of the Korean people in the two parts of the country.

If we consider the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 as expressive of the will and determination of the people, we find that its three principles state that unification shall take place without recourse to external force or outside interference, that unification shall be achieved without resort to arms and that it is necessary to achieve national unity.

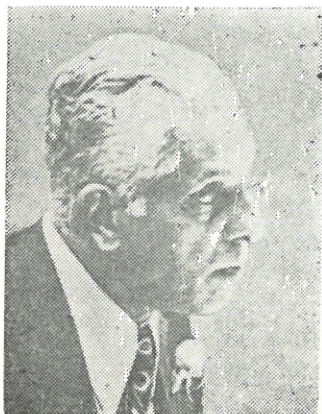
The presence of those forces constitutes an external force and outside interference. It is a weapon in the hands of one of the parties and aimed at the other. It is an impediment to the achievement of national unity. The presence of those foreign forces, therefore, is contrary to the will of the entire Korean people, both in the South and in the North.

The United Nations has never stood against the desire of the peoples of the world who were forced to be divided and who seek unification through peaceful and democratic means — who seek the unification of their territory, their homeland, after it had been divided into two parts as a result of extraordinary circumstances whose causes and reasons have long since passed.

The report presented by the representative of the Secretary-General two days ago included information according to which we understand that the flag of the United Nations is being used in South Korea as a cover for the forces of one of the Member States and that those forces receive their orders from the capital of that Member State. I do not think that this needs any further comment. What we request is that that flag should not cover the forces of one country only, and that it should return to its headquarters in respect for this international Organization and its Charter and principles. We also request that the forces of that country should withdraw from Korea and permit the Korean people to implement its desire and will to determine its own internal affairs.

In view of these remarks, the delegation of my country has decided to sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, which is based on the principle of self-determination and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others, and on the necessity to create the circumstances and conditions needed for the peaceful and independent unification of the country as well as to preserve the reputation of the United Nations. It is a draft resolution that would open the road clearly and easily to implementing the will of the General Assembly as reflected in its consensus of the last session.

The delegation of my country hopes that this draft resolution will be adopted.



## HAMILTON S. AMERASINGHE

Sri Lanka

Whether or not we have one or two items is quite immaterial. In the application of rule 131 we must decide whether we have two or more proposals and we must determine which proposal has been submitted first. The proposal that has been submitted first is entitled to priority under the rule unless the Committee decides otherwise. What I wish to point out is that the date of a particular document does not necessarily determine its priority. You will observe that the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 was, as pointed out by the representative of Cuba, submitted on 7 October 1974 and the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 was also submitted on that date. But the draft resolution which is said now to be entitled to priority under rule 131 on the ground that it was submitted first is not the draft resolution submitted on 7 October 1974: it is the draft resolution submitted on 4 December 1974. The fact that it is called a revision of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 submitted on 7 October 1974 does not entitle it to the same date as the previous resolution. It differs in a material respect from the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 submitted on 7 October 1974 as a glance at operative paragraph 2 clearly shows. As a matter of convenience the same symbol is retained but, having been given a different date, it loses its claim to priority.

On that ground alone I think the question is settled, unless those who have submitted the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1 themselves now ask for priority for it and obtain a majority vote in favour of granting it priority.

Finally, I would point out to my friend the patriarch of the United Nations, Ambassador Baroody, that the criterion for determining priority is not whether one draft resolution is more or less inclusive than another: there is nothing in the rules to that effect.



## ABDULLA YACOUB BISHARA

### Kuwait

I assure you that my explanation of vote is unimpeachable.

Kuwait is a small country which stands for the peaceful settlement of political issues. It advocates non-interference by foreign Powers in the domestic affairs of States. Korea has been a classic victim of foreign interference. Our policy in Kuwait has always been against such interference, which has brought nothing but division and tension to the Korean peninsula. We are against meddling in the domestic affairs of Korea from any source. We are also against the dispatching of foreign troops to Korea, whether overtly or surreptitiously, since we believe that such encroachment on the domestic rights of the Korean people triggers off animosity rather than contributing to harmony. Therefore my delegation will vote staunchly and with ferocious determination against the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1.

That the United Nations flag has been abused is a fact that even the obtuse are forced to admit. My country is not willing to support the continued presence of foreign troops stationed in Korea which masquerade as United Nations forces. Their presence is not acceptable under the Charter nor in keeping with the essential spirit of the United Nations as an organization designed to preserve and promote peaceful coexistence among nations. The flag of the United Nations has been usurped to serve interests which, in our view, are alien to the United Nations, contrary to the principles of the Charter and detrimental to the image of this Organization. That usurpation took place when the Western Powers enjoyed ascendancy within the United Nations. It is not merely legitimate to ask for the removal of the United Nations flag now, it is also pertinent to question the legality of the presence of foreign troops in the guise of friendly United Nations forces. We maintain the view that the presence of foreign forces sheltering under the United

Nations flag is not only illegal but contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter. My delegation is not concerned about the identity of those troops. Its opposition is directed against the use of the United Nations flag as a cover designed to provide a questionable legality for the foreign forces in Korea. We say forcefully that the United Nations flag, which has been so long abused by those foreign troops, should be furled and carried out of Korea.

Kuwait believes that the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea is a prerequisite for creating the proper atmosphere for fruitful dialogue between the North and the South in order to achieve the goals of peaceful reunification and national unity. The presence of foreign troops has retarded the process of national reunification and perpetuated the artificial division of the country. The Korean people cannot exercise its legitimate right to self-determination so long as foreign troops are stationed in its territory. It cannot give its wholehearted attention to the task of economic and social development while it is constantly harassed by outside interference in its domestic affairs. The process of national reunification, reconstruction and development must take place peacefully without foreign pressure, coercion or constraint.

The people of Korea has suffered for long from the ravages of war and from living in a tense atmosphere fraught with the seeds of turmoil and conflict. They should now be afforded the opportunity of embarking upon the great task of reconstruction and national development.

While voting against the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676/Rev.1, we give our blessing to the future endeavours of the Korean people and would like to assure them that our sole concern is their prosperity, progress and well-being.

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